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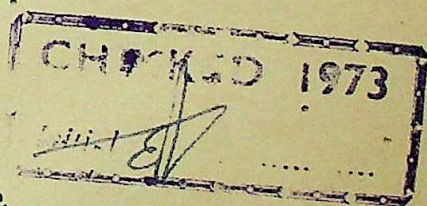
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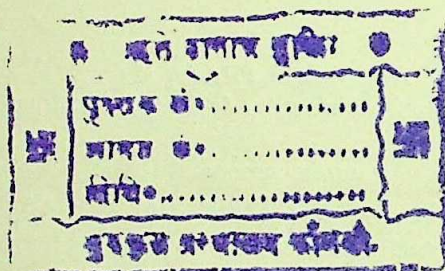
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The Age of the Mahābhārata War

BY

THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

In 1941 the late Dr. Laxman Sarup submitted a paper entitled "Is the Indus Valley Civilization Āryan or non-Āryan" to the Hyderabad meeting of the All-India Oriental Conference, in the course of which paper and in order to show that the Indus Valley civilization was post-Vedic, he stated that the period of the *R̥gveda* is much earlier than that of the battle of Kurukṣetra and the beginning of the *Kāli Yuga*.¹ So far as I know Dr. Lakshman Sarup's paper has not been published, but a summary of it appeared in the programme of the meeting. The present writer, after studying all the arguments of Dr. Sarup in favour of a post-Vedic date for the Indus Valley Civilization, contributed an article entitled "Were the Mohenjo-Darians Āryans or Dravidians?" to the *Journal of Indian History*.² In this article, after scrutinizing the value of one of Dr. Sarup's arguments, I wrote as follows: "Most likely the story of Yudhiṣṭhira and his enthronement dates from a period prior to the *R̥gveda* and to the Āryan invasion. Hence, the composition of the *R̥gveda* very likely took place when the *Kāli Yuga* had already started. Consequently the date of the *Mahābhārata*, which was composed fully within the *Kāli Yuga*, cannot tally with the dates proposed for the Indus Valley Culture and admitted by Dr. Sarup."³

This statement naturally occasioned great surprise among many. How could the period of the *Mahābhārata* war be transferred to a pre-Vedic age when it is evident that the Great Epic was composed in a post-Vedic period? One of those who were amazed at my temerity was Dr. Pusalkar, who, in the course of an article contributed to the *Bhāratha-Kaumudī*, made the following judgment on myself and the question: "The suggestion of Rev. Fr. Heras regarding the dates of Yudhiṣṭhira and the *R̥gveda*

1. *The Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Summaries of Papers*, pp. 122-123.

2. *J. I. H.*, XXI, pp.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

is perhaps due to his comparative not profound acquaintance with Indian traditions."⁴

It is, therefore, high time that these very important facts in the early history of our country should be properly studied and fixed in their true chronological setting. Therefore we shall first study the relative chronology of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rgveda*; and then the same relative chronology between the great epic and the Mohanjo-Daro civilization.

I

The Mahābhārata and the Rgveda

We may first of all recall that the pure Āryan blood of the principal heroes of the poem has for long been doubted.⁵ Some of the customs described in the *Mahābhārata* are so un-Āryan that we cannot hesitate to attribute a Dravidian origin to them. Let the main one be the polyandric system of the family of the Pāṇḍavas fully acknowledged by all. Prof. Weller is also of opinion that the Bhriguids were originally Dravidian.⁶ In the same way the story of the Flood has been described as of non-Āryan origin⁷, and as "a myth of some pre-Āryan inhabitants of India"⁸. The story of Nārāyaṇa also seems to come from Dravidian sources.⁹ The extraordinary influence that the Nāgas exercise throughout the events narrated in the poem also smacks of a very early age. Dhrtaraṣṭra himself is said to be a Nāga.¹⁰

Yet this might not prove anything to our purpose, for even after the age of the *Rgveda* many Dravidian families actually

4. Pusalker, "Mohenjo-Daro and Rgveda" in *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, p. 561. I refrain from passing any remarks upon this mode of controverting the views of an author by alleging his lack of sufficient knowledge.

5. Hopkins, "The Princes and Peoples of the Epic Poems" in *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 254.

6. Weller, "Who Were the Bhriguids?", *A. B. O. R. I.*, XVIII, pp. 296-302.

7. Winternitz, "Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvölker," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft (Wien)*, XXXI (1901), pp. 321-322; 327-329; Sukthankar, "Epic Studies", XVIII (1936), p. 30.

8. Peake, *The Flood, New Light on an Old Story*, p. 25. Cf. Periyānāyagam, "Manu's Flood", *The New Review*, XI (1940), pp. 473-484.

9. Cf. Keny, "The Origin of Nārāyaṇa", *A. B. O. R. I.*, XXIII (1942), pp. 250-256.

10. *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, 1562.

THE AGE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

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existed in Northern India and their mutual intercourse and relations with the recently arrived Āryas might well have been the argument of the poem. Yet an independent study of epic poetry in general may help us to find a solution to this problem.

An epic poem by its very nature, cannot be written a few years after the events narrated in the poem have taken place. The protagonists of the epic are not men of common mould, as the men who live around the poet are; they must have grown to the stature of heroes or demigods, and before they pass from the sphere of reality to that of heroic idealism hundreds of years must pass. During the intervening period the figures of the ancient warriors dwell in the memory of several generations and their deeds are narrated by the fireside in the long winter's vespers. Then popular bards, in India the *māgadhas* undertake the singing of their glorious exploits in numberless *nārāsaṃsī gāthās* which soon are memorized and pass from mouth to mouth, always receiving new accretions, always reflecting new lights, always casting new shadows, enlarging, increasing, transforming into new colossal creations of super-human heroism those who in the beginning were but ordinary human figures. Such was the process of the genesis and evolution of the *Iliad* and the *Nibelungen*, of the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Mío Cid*; and the process of the formation of the *Mahābhārata* could not in any way have been different.

It is only after such a prolonged process that an historical argument becomes heroic and epic. And at this point of time the fortunate poet, be he named Vālmiki, Homer, or any other, rises in the midst of the nation piecing together all those loose fragments, tying together all those broken threads, without regard to their respective chronology, for it is not his purpose to write history, but to depict the soul of the nation in all those events which have been sung for centuries and aggrandized and embellished by the nation, while being recorded in its popular folk-lore in the course of a hundred generations. For the soul of the nation knows no age. It is everlasting.

Now there is no doubt that our great epic was finally composed after the *Rgveda* and in general after the period of the *Saṃhitās*. The constant tradition of India and the language itself of the poem testify to its later date. The question of the age of the *Rgveda* does not seem now to be so vague, thanks to the unexpected help received from the treaty between Matiwaza, King of the Mitanni, and Subbiluliuma, King of the Hittites. The names

of the gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas, invoked by the former kings, give us a point of contact and of reference to fix the date of the *Ṛgveda*, and consequently of the Āryan invasion of India.¹¹ Dr. Berriedale Keith has thoroughly studied this question in all possible aspects, in particular considering the names of the Mitanni gods, and has come to the conclusion that "if we place our oldest hymns in the *Ṛgveda* at 1300 B.C. we are allowing a generous period for the development seen within that *Samhitā*."¹² Keith, therefore, is of opinion that the period of the composition of the *Ṛgveda* may extend from 1300 to 1000 B.C., although he frankly admits that a later date may perhaps soon be suggested "in face of the evidence of the *Avesta* whose date is placed very late by authorities of weight."¹³

Dr. Pusalker declared in this connection: "The Mittani inscriptions and the recent discovery of Tokharian to the NE. of the Punjab and of Nasili in Hittite Cappadocia show that the age of the Vedas is considerably prior to 2500 B.C."¹⁴ This author does not say how he has arrived at this figure. Perhaps he follows the calculation of Dr. Sarup when he writes: "Discovery of Bogazkoi tablets by Professor H. Winckler shows that 4 Vedic deities were worshipped in Asia Minor in 1500 B.C. These deities could not have migrated through Persia, otherwise the form of their names would have been modified. They must have migrated direct from India. If 4 Vedic deities were worshipped in Asia Minor in 1500 B.C., we can safely assume that *Ṛgvedic* worship of these deities in India is older, say by 4 or 5 hundred years to account for their migration and gradual establishment in Asia Minor."¹⁵ Even in this case Dr. Pusalker has added 500 years to Dr. Sarup's calculation.

But let us examine the calculations of Dr. Sarup. He admits that the date of the treaty was 1500 B.C. Quite pointedly he remarks that the names of those deities could not have migrated through Iran, for their form would then have been different. They came thither directly from India. But by what way? By sea? The shortest and easiest way seems to be Iran, for besides other

11. Cf. Konow, *The Aryan Gods of the Mitāni People*, pp. 3—7.

12. Keith, "The Age of the *Ṛgveda*", in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 155.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

14. Pusalker, "Mohenjo-Daro and *Ṛgveda*", *op. cit.*, p. 553.

15. Sarup, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

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reasons, that route was already known to them. Sarup cannot explain the itinerary of this migration through Iran because the names have not been influenced by Avestic forms.

This difficulty in explaining the non-Avestic influence in these names, if we suppose that they came from India through Iran, may be solved by the adoption of the view proposed by Dr. Keith which is now not unusual among scholars. "The 'Indians' of Asia Minor [who wrote those names] represent bodies of the larger movement which reached India, who moved west when their comrades moved to the Punjab."¹⁶ If that is so, the date of their Indian invasion, and consequently of the composition of the *Rgveda*, would more or less coincide with the date of the Mitanni-Hittite treaty. This is also suggested by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, when he writes: "Some tribes of Asia Minor peoples who became prominent in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. came to India along with the main bodies of the Āryans."¹⁷

All this leads us to conclude that from the time of the final composition of the *Rgveda*, roughly speaking about 1000 B.C., to about 200 A.D. when the epic was already in existence,¹⁸ there is no room for the long period required for the formation of the epic, viz. that long gestation that the historic facts required before they could be converted into real epic facts. Moreover, there is no room for the two great families of the epic to be established in India so solidly as they appear in the poem in the short span of less than 500 years that runs after the composition of the 10th *maṇḍala* down to the rise of the Nāṇḍas. There is, therefore, no other possibility than to place those dynasties and those events in a pre-Vedic period, before the Āryas entered India, in the same way as Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji does in connection with the Purāṇic traditions: "We take into note not the mere possibility, but the extreme probability or likelihood of the Purāṇic tradition being with reference to pre-Āryan times—to non-Āryan Dravidian (and Austric) kings and dynasties. This tradition in legends and stories was later on Āryanized; that is, was rendered into the Āryan language, Prakrit and Sanskrit, after the peoples among whom these traditions grew, had themselves become Āryanized."¹⁹ This is what this author admits in general terms, with no exception as

16. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

17. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 51.

18. Cf. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 387.

19. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

regards the epic: "It is now becoming more and more clear that the non-Āryan contributed by far the greater portion in the fabric of Indian civilization, and a great deal of Indian religious and cultural traditions, of ancient legend and history is just non-Āryan translated in terms of the Āryan speech."²⁰

Dr. Pusalker raises an objection to our contention, that the main argument of the epic is pre-Āryan: "It may be stated here that some of the personages that figured in the Bhārata war are found in later Vedic texts, and that chronologically the Bhārata war comes after the *Rgveda*."²¹ We may, first of all, remind Dr. Pusalker that the chronology of the *Mahābhārata* has no historical value at all; for if it had, the epic would be history and not a poem. The epic poet does not consider the different historical planes when he pieces together the fragmentary legends bequeathed by the bards. He has no historical perspective of facts and persons. All are on the same ideal plane, all belong to the same epoch, and thus the latter becomes grander, more heroic. Take the case of Brhadratha and his son Jarāsandha, of Magadha. Their deeds must have been sung by the *māgadhas* and must have belonged to the folk-lore of the country at the time of the composition of the epic. They were thus included in side episodes of the poem. The latter was a match for the fabulous strength of Bhīma, though Bhīma evidently belonged to a much earlier period.²²

In the same way those Vedic personages mentioned by Dr. Pusalker might have been included in the poem, though belonging in reality to a totally different period.²³ It may also be pointed out that there may be real Āryan legends and traditions in the *Mahābhārata*, as the poem was composed in a period of clear Āryan linguistic influence. "In that process," says Dr. Chatterji, "there was the inevitable commingling of the legends and traditions of two races united by one language, a commingling which has now become well-high inextricable."²⁴ Moreover the syncretic nature of the epic is well known to all: numerous additions and inter-

20. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

21. Pusalker, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

22. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā Parva, 768-982.

23. I may, nevertheless, point out that the fact that the names are the same is not a sufficient argument for the identification of the persons.

24. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 52. The author explains this fact with a similar blending of myths and legends, Mediterranean and Indo-European, as it appears in the *Iliad*.

BHANOARKAR ORIENTAL
RESEARCH INSTITUTE
BHANDARKAR RESIDENCE

Nov. 22, 1942

PROF DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR
M.A., PH.D.

Dear Father Heras,

POONA 4

I was now inspired by the theory that the people of Mohjo-
daro were Hyans. and the bogus claims of Laxman Harp
others on this behalf have always left me rather cold. You have
directed me in exposing the arguments of Laxman Harp
and disposed of the point by point. — I was interested in the
manner in which you are summing up the Mohjo-daro people
with the Mahabharata (p. 32). — You are very moderate in saying
that perhaps opinion regarding the "Draupadi Murders" is not
general. It is humbly, false and simple. Laxman Harp
is the inspired ventriloquist of many bogus theories, and this one
of them. You are very likely right in saying that the story of Yudhishtira
and Draupadi dates from a period prior to the Rigveda and to the
Hyan invasion. It is a story that has been adopted for the
Hyan invasion.

Thank you for remembering me with
an offer of your valuable paper to read.
"Was the Mohjo-daro Hyan?" is the general
topic of the day, which I am glad to know
and which I am glad to pursue.

With kindest regards

Yours in an
V. S. Sukthankar

I shall be giving lectures on the
Mahabharata in Gandhi University in Jan.,
which may interest you.

Fig. 1. Letter of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar to the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

THE AGE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

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pollations of a later period are fully acknowledged. The chapters of didactic character may generally be counted among them; one of them being the *Bhagavad Gītā* which, according to some, is an old Upaniṣad.

Shortly after I had published the article referred to above, wherein I suggested a pre-Vedic period for the enthronement of Yudhiṣṭhira and the Bhārata war, I received a letter from Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on this question. The letter is dated November 22nd, 1942, less than three months before his untimely and lamented death; in fact, it is the last letter I received from the great scholar, and I treasure it very lovingly for the views he sets forth in it. I publish the letter in photograph herewith so that it might be read in its original script. (Fig. 1)

In the second paragraph of this letter and in connection with what seems my rash statement concerning Yudhiṣṭhira, Dr. Sukthankar writes: "You are very likely right in saying that the story of Yudhiṣṭhira and enthronement dates from a period prior to the Ṛgveda and to the Āryan invasion. It is a story that has been adapted from non-Āryan sources."

These words of the great epic scholar consist of two statements, both of great value. In the first he considers that my view about Yudhiṣṭhira's enthronement and story as dating from a period prior to that of the *Ṛgveda* and the Āryan invasion is *very probable*; and then, as if forgetting my statement and considering the story objectively and without prejudice of any kind, Sukthankar gives his definite opinion on the subject: "It is a story that has been adapted from non-Āryan sources." I hope that Dr. Pusalker is not going to remark that Dr. Sukthankar's view "is perhaps due to his comparative not profound acquaintance with Indian traditions."

II

The Mahābhārata and the Indus Valley Civilization

This is a totally different question from the preceding one. The events narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, though fully within the pale of Dravidian history, in the pre-Āryan period, may be located after the period of what is now called of the Indus Valley Civilization or before it. The solution to this problem may lead us to an unknown age in the history of our country.

Sumeriologists are well acquainted with the story of Gilgamesh, a very early King of Uruk, who on his way to the island

of immortality in search of his ancestor Utnapishtim, encounters numerous beasts in the mountains and forests and fights and defeats them with never-failing courage and strength.²⁵ This story must have been very popular in Sumer, for the figure of Gilgamesh fighting with rampant animals and monsters (very likely lions) is the most repeated device on the Sumerian seals (Fig. 2). Such a figure was at a later date also very common in the Mediterranean, where the hero was christened Herakles, in Greek, or Hercules, in Latin. The continuation of this pictorial legend of the Lion-Fighter from Sumer to the Mediterranean and in particular the discovery of two Sumerian seals showing a hero fighting with a several-headed serpentine monster, which seems to be the proto-type of the Hydra of Lemnos of the Herculean legend, have now led classical scholars and archaeologists to acknowledge Gilgamesh as the prototype of the Mediterranean Herakles.²⁶

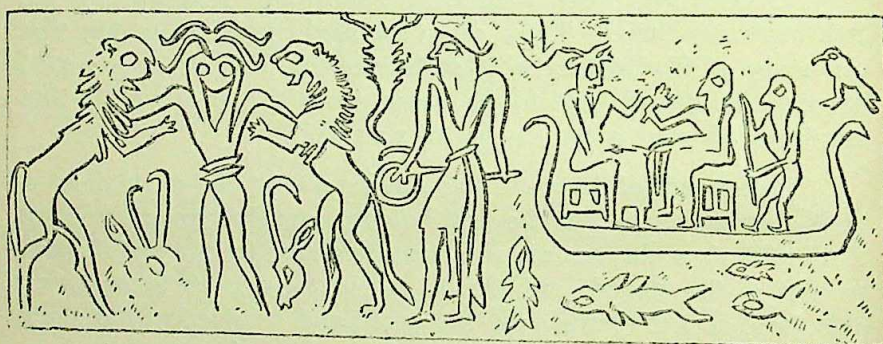


Fig. 2. Gilgamesh fighting with two Rampant Lions.

A seal of the early Dynastic period of Sumer, from Fara, now in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museum, Berlin.
(From Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XI, m.)

But now the excavations of the cities of the Indus Valley have yielded no less than four seals wherein the same scenes of a hero fighting with lions (or tigers) are reproduced; the four seals come from Mohenjo Daro.²⁷ Since the present writer has clear evidence

25. Such is the subject of the famous so-called *Poem of Gilgamesh*, recovered from the ruins of Sumerian cities and published in several languages in modern times. Cf. Leonard, *Gilgamesh, Epic of Old Babylonia* (New York, 1934).

26. Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIV (1934), pp. 40-53; Frankfort, *Iraq Excavations of the Oriental Institute*, 1932-33. Third preliminary Report, pp. 53-55.

27. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, Nos. 75, 85, 122 and 454.

of the priority of the date of the Indus Valley civilization over the civilization of Sumer, and of the Proto-Indian migrations into the Land of the Two Rivers,²⁸ the discovery of these four seals has led him to conclude that the origin of the legend of Herakles is to be looked for not in Sumer but in India.²⁹ Who, therefore, is this Indian hero who is shown so valiantly fighting these brutes and taping them like sheep? Our imagination runs at once to identify him with the undaunted Bhīmasena, the strong man of India, the hero of a thousand battles, who also is said to have fought with lions and other wild animals in the forests on his way to Kubera's lake, the land of the immortals.³⁰

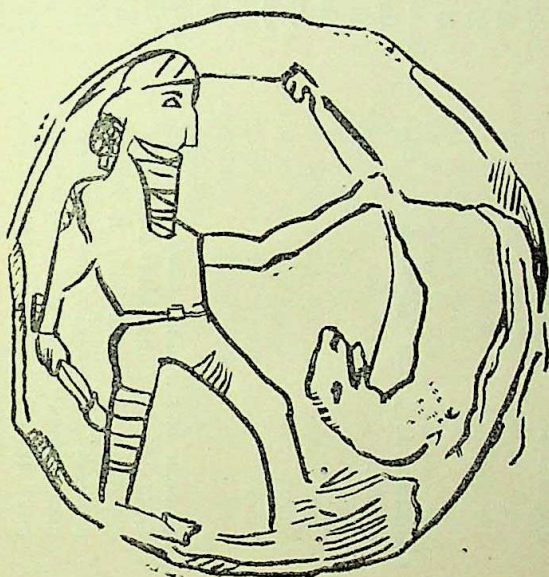


Fig. 3. Gilgamesh holding a mace and a lion.
(From Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 215, fig. 130)

This tentative identification of the Indian Lion-Fighter with Bhīma prompted me to examine the circumstance of this side episode of the epic and compare it with the poem of Gilgamesh and the legend of Herakles, a comparison which was most successful, as the following chart will show:—

28. This will be shown and fully developed in the author's forthcoming work *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, now in the press.

29. The author delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures in the University of Madras on this subject "The Indo-Mediterranean Legend of the Lion-Fighter" in the month of March, 1945. He expects that he will be able to submit the original of his lectures to the University soon for publication.

30. *Mahābhārata*, Vāna Parva, 11077-11336.

THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES

Herakles is the son of Amphitryon, King of Thebes and of Alcmena, daughter of Electryon, King of Mycenae (Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 27-56; Pherecydes, *Historiae*, II, frag. 27; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 4, 8). Herakles' exploits are narrated from the time when he is in his cradle. Then he strangles the two snakes that Hera sends against him (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 4, 8). In the early period of Greek art he is always represented as a beardless youth.

In Herakles Zeus wants to beget a son who will be "a specimen of invincible force both to gods and man" (Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 29). He is like Zeus in strength (Quintus, *Posthomerica*, VI, 204). He is of fearful strength (Joannes Tzetza, *Antehomerica*, 21). His heart is of copper (Theocritus, *Idylls*, XIII, 5). His spirit is of stone or iron (Moschus, *Idylls*, IV, 44).

THE POEM OF GILGAMESH

1. Gilgamesh is a King of Uruk, near the Euphrates.

2. Gilgamesh is young (Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

3. Gilgamesh is called: "almighty bull" (*Ibid.*, p. 4); "matchless in might" (p. 9); "his whole body is full of strength" (p. 11); "the mightiest among men" (p. 32); "the strong one" (p. 69).

THE STORY OF BHĪMA

1. Bhīma is the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, King of Indraprastha, on the Jumna.

2. Bhīma is a youth.

3. Bhīma is styled "the powerful" (Sabhā Parva, 2447); "heroic and courageous ...incapable of being vanquished by any enemy by prowess" (Vana Parva, 11385). Describing his strength, the poem says: "Bhīma had gone away looking at his arms, desiring to destroy his enemies" (Sabhā Parva, 2632-2633).

4. Bhīma slays many monsters called *rākṣasas*: some of them are Hīdimbā (Vana Parva, 569) and Baka (*Ibid.*, 573).
5. Bhīma kills many lions, elephants and other animals in the forest (*Ibid.*, 11115-11116).
6. At the request of Arka, great grandfather of Kuntī, Vāsukīnāga allows Bhīma to drink *rasa*, "in which there is the strength of a thousand elephants." At one breath he drinks the whole vessel. He quaffs off eight successive jars (Ādi Parva, 5030-5033). Just before the death of Jarāsandha Kṛṣṇa says that Bhīma "derives his strength from the celestials" (Sabhā Parva, 927-928).
4. Gilgamesh fights and kills Khumbaba (p. 26), "frightful to look on" (p. 17), whose "below is a stormwind, his mouth is fire, his snort is death" (pp. 15 and 17).
5. Gilgamesh says: "We seized and slew the bull of heaven; we laid lions low in the ravines of the mountain" (p. 48).
6. On a seal of the time of the first Babylonian dynasty we see Gilgamesh, small of stature, nude, kneeling before a tall god bearded and richly robed, who probably is Ea. From the vessel that this god holds two streams of water issue, and bathe the humble King of Uruk. The effect of this heavenly bath is seen in the figure which appears to the left: it is the same Gilgamesh, but thoroughly transformed, grown to the stature of the gods. Thus strengthened, Gilgamesh is able to defeat lions, and other wild animals. Accordingly the artist represents him in the next stage, not in the act of fighting, but actually victorious: kneeling over a prostrate lion, and
5. Herakles kills many animals and monsters, the chief one and the beginning of all adventures being the slaying of the lion of Nemea (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 1).
6. Zeus to make his son Herakles immortal, puts the babe to the breast of Hera, when she is asleep (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, IV, 9).

THE STORY OF BHĪMA

THE POEM OF GILGAMESH

THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES

7. Bhīma is very skilful in the use of the mace as a war weapon.

carrying another upon his shoulders (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXVIII, k).

7. Though in glyptics we find no mace in the hands of Gilgamesh, in an Assyro-Babylonian carving we see him holding a mace in his right hand while his left lifts a lion by the tail. (Fig. 3)

8. Bhīma's standard shows the device of a lion (Bhīma Parva, 4307).

8. After Enkidu's death, "Like as a lion, Gilgamesh raised his voice, like as a lioness he roared out" (p. 39).

9. Bhīma's strength requires a great amount of food. Half the food of the family was put aside for him, the other half being divided among his four brothers and their mother Kuntī (Ādi Parva, 6187). Hence he was called *Vṛkodara*, i.e. 'wolf's belly' (*Ibid.* 2451, 5521, etc.)

8. Herakles when young likes to sleep on a lion's skin (Theocritus, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 135). He is always clad in a lion's skin (*Ibid.*, XXV, 63, 142, 175; Philostratus, *Epistolae*, VII, 1). He always carries the lion skin as a prophylaxis of his victory (Pisander, *Herakles*, frag. 1).

9. Herakles can consume a whole bull at a meal and drink a whole cask of wine. At Thermidres, in the island of Rhodes, he kills a bull which he takes from the cart of a man. The latter watches him eating the animal and is able only to insult him (Apolodorus, *op. cit.*, III, 5, 11). In the

land of Driops he similarly kills a bull of Thiodomantis which is ploughing a field and eats it. (*Ibid.*, II, 77), etc.

Herakles kills all the centaurs of Roloe, quaint beings half men and half horses (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 4).

10. When Bhīma reaches Kubera's tank the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas who are watching over the tank try to prevent him from plucking lotus flowers. He kills more than a hundred of them.

11. Bhīma is poisoned by Duryodhana, and bound and thrown into the Ganga to die (*Ibid.*, 5000-5030).

12. Bhīma finds Hanumān lying in his path and checking his advance.

13. Bhīma tried to remove Hanumān from his way: "Bhīma carelessly takes hold of the tail with his left hand, but he cannot move the tail of the naughty monkey. With both his arms he pulls the tail.... But the mighty Bhīma fails to raise the tail with both his arms" (Vana Parva, 11184-11186).

11. Herakles is thrown into the sea after his birth (A legend of the city of Megara).

12. Herakles on his way to the garden of the Hesperides comes across Cycnus, a horse-tamer, and Ares, the god of war. They refused to allow him to continue his journey (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 11). He defeats them.

The mother of Gilgamesh tells him: "There fell upon thee an image as of Anu, and though thou soughtest to lift it up, but it was too heavy for thee, and thou soughtest to shake it off, but thou couldst not shake it off" (p. 12).

THE STORY OF BHĪMA	THE POEM OF GILGAMESH	THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES
<p>14. Hanumān declares to Bhīma the extension, meaning and characteristics of the old <i>yugas</i> ('ages) of the world (<i>Ibid.</i>, 11225-11260).</p> <p>15. Bhīma is dressed in deer skins when he journeys to the celestial tank (<i>Ibid.</i>, 11363-11364).</p> <p>16. Bhīma's rivalry with Duryodhana (<i>Ādi Parva</i>, 5275, 5288). Mace fights between both rivals are frequent (<i>Ibid.</i>, 301, 5348-5350; <i>Bhīma Parva</i>, 2475).</p>	<p>14. Utnapishtim narrates the story of the Flood to Gilgamesh (pp. 60-69).</p> <p>15. Gilgamesh makes the journey clad in skins (pp. 71-72).</p> <p>16. Rivalry between Gilgamesh and Enkidu. They are engaged in a terrible fight. (pp. 14-15).</p> <p>17. Gilgamesh at the end of his journey bathes in the sea (pp. 71-72).</p>	<p>15. Herakles, when clad, is always shown wearing a lion's skin.</p> <p>16. Hera tries to create a hero Euristheus, King of Mycenae and Thyrs, as strong and powerful as Herakles, but she does not succeed. Euristheus is terrified in the presence of Herakles. In a Greek painting he is comically shown with his head issuing from a huge jar where he is hidden when the hero brings the boar of Erimanthus (Cf. Apollodorus, <i>op. cit.</i>, II, 5, 1).</p> <p>17. Herakles is said to have bathed in several famous places. Cf. No. 18.</p> <p>18. Herakles acquires new strength in the hot baths of Himeræ and Eggestan in Sicily (Diodorus Siculus, IV, 23). When in Lydia he falls in Hydia he recovers health, by bathing in the river</p>
<p>17. Bhīma bathes in the lake when he reaches the end of his journey (<i>Ibid.</i>, 11379-11381).</p> <p>18. While Bhīma is bathing "when he drank the water (of the lake) which was like ambrosia, his energy and strength were fully restored." (<i>Ibid.</i>, 11390).</p>	<p>18. After Gilgamesh has bathed "his body showed beautiful, the band round his head was made new. He became clad in a robe, in a shirt for his nakedness." (p. 72).</p>	

THE AGE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

15

Hyllo (Panyasis, *Heraclea*, frag. 163).
He also recovers strength after drinking water from a river in Budrasia (Phereids, *Historiae*, III, frag. 36).

Herakles finds a plant of the shape of the Hydra of Lemnos on the banks of a river in the East, which plant cures him of the wound received in his fight with the Hydra (Claudius Iolaus, *Phoinikika*, I, fragm. 1).

The last adventure of Herakles is to the Garden of the Hesperides, the garden of the gods, wherein he plucked the golden apples of the magic tree (*passim*).

21. After Herakles and his wife Dejanira have crossed the river Evenus in the boat of the Centaur Nessus, the latter seizes her with evil intentions. Herakles, hearing her scream, kills the Centaur with an arrow (Apollo-dorus, *op. cit.*, III, 7, 6).

On the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, one evening when Herakles is at the helm, a sudden strong sea wave breaks the oar. On his arrival in the country of the Missians he goes to the neighbouring forest, uproots a pine tree, and makes a new oar from

19. Gilgamesh plucks the plant of life from the bottom of the sea. (p. 73).

20. Gilgamesh's journey is to the underworld where Utnapishtim lives an immortal life (p. 42).

21. During the Pāṇdavas' exile at Virāṭa's court, Kīcaka, Commander of the Mātsya royal army and a mighty warrior, falls in love with Draupadī and seized her with evil intentions. Bhīma, hearing of it, slays the offender. (Virāṭa Parva, 316-694).

22. Gilgamesh in a fit of anger breaks the oars of the boat of Ur-Shanabi, the boatmen of Utnapishtim (p. 50). Then he goes to the forest and cuts new oars (p. 54).

THE STORY OF BHĪMA

23. Bhīma marries the Rākṣasī Hidimbā by whom he begets Ghatotkaca, who becomes a great warrior (Ādi Parva, 5927-6084).

24. Vāsuki, King of the Nāgas, in Pātālā, hastens to meet Bhīma and offers him great gifts (Ādi Parva, 5028).

25. Entrance to the city of Gīrvrajā is forbidden to Bhīma and his brothers by its king Jarāsandha (Sabhā Parva, 812-819).

THE POEM OF GILGAMESH

- Gilgamesh prays to Nergal, the King of Hell, to allow Enkidu to come to him. The prayer is granted (pp. 78-79).
24. Enkidu, at the beginning of his acquaintance with Gilgamesh, bars the door of the latter's house in Uruk and does not allow him to enter (p. 14).

THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES

it (Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 3, 1164-68).

23. Herakles weds the horrible monster Equidna, by whom he begets three sons Agatyrsus, Gelon and Scyta, the ancestors of the Scythian nation (Richepin, *Nueva Mitologia Ilustrada*, II, p. 169).

In a Greek vase Herakles is shown being received in Hell by Hades, its King, seated on a throne (Richepin, *op. cit.*, II, p. 189).

Eristheus, King of Mycenae, knowing the strength of Herakles, forbids him to enter the city, and the latter forces him to show the result of his exploits before the city closed gates (Apollodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 5, 1).



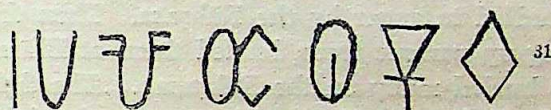
Fig. 4. Bhīma fighting with two Lions. A Mohenjo-Daro seal.
(Copyright, Archaeological Survey of Pakistan)

THE AGE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

17

This comparative study of the three Lion-Fighters in India, Sumer and the Mediterranean basin will disclose that the identification of the Lion-Fighter of the Indus Valley seals with Bhīma has not been hasty and without foundation; yet all this will not prove the existence of Bhīma at a period prior to the Mohenjo Daro period beyond doubt, for his identification with the Lion-Fighter of the Indus Valley seals does not transcend a mere probability.

Now, of the four seals bearing the representation of this fight one has no inscription at all; two have inscriptions that refer "to the trial" and "the death of the two" (viz. lions), which is an evident allusion to the victory of the hero. The fourth seal, which we reproduce below, bears an inscription without any allusion to the two or to the fight in general, but which is of extraordinary interest for our purpose. (Fig. 4) The inscription runs as follows:



which reads: *il ūr eḍu Orūr urveli adu ruor*, i.e. "The man who makes noise outside Orūr of the year is the life of the house". Now if this inscription refers to Bhīma, the name of the city of Orūr should, as I expected, be found in the *Mahābhārata*. Yet I vainly looked for it in Sørensen's *Index*. Then the possibility occurred to me that the name had been translated into Sanskrit, as was done in other cases: *Mūnūr* was always spoken of as "*Tripura*"; *Mūnmala* became "*Tripurvata*",³² etc. If this custom was followed in the case of Orūr, this name would have become "*Ekapura*". But this name was not found in Sørensen's either. Yet as I looked for *Ekapura*, my eyes stopped at the word *Ekacakrā*, a city which was certainly connected with Bhīma.

During their exile the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī lived in the house of a poor Brāhmaṇa in the city of *Ekacakrā*. This city was much harassed by a neighbouring Rākṣasa named Baka. From time to time this fiend had to be fed by one of the citizens on a cartload of rice, two buffaloes and a human being. It happened that the

31. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, II, pt. LXXXIV, No. 86.

32. Heras, "Mohenjo Daro the People and the Land," *Indian Culture*, III (1937), pp. 710 and 720; "El Descrifamiento de la Escritura Proto-Indica," *Ampurias*, I, p. 68.

turn came of the poor Brāhmaṇa, the host of the Pāṇḍavas, when the latter were at Ekacakrā. Bhīma, being made acquainted with the affair, offered to deal with the monster. He took the cartload of rice and the two buffaloes and set out to meet the enemy in the forest outside the city: but instead of taking the victuals to the abode of Baka, he started eating them himself, at the same time calling out to the *asura* with boldness and noise. Baka sallied from his den and forthwith a fight ensued. Numerous trees were hurled at each other, till Bhīma finally succeeded in throwing his enemy to the ground, and placing his foot on the middle of Baka's back, he bent him double and slew him. Thus the city of Ekacakrā was freed from a great calamity. The epic emphasizes the great noise created by the encounter. The description of the fight is added herewith:—

“The greatly powerful Bhīma smilingly caught in his left hand the tree hurled in anger by the Rākṣasa. Then the mighty Rākṣasa, tearing up various trees, hurled them at Bhīma, and the Pāṇḍava also hurled many on the Rākṣasa.... The fight between the man and the Rākṣasa with trees became so fearful that the place soon became devoid of all trees. Saying that ‘He is no other than Baka’ he sprang upon the Pāṇḍava and clasped the greatly powerful Bhīma by both his arms. Bhīmasena also clasped the Rākṣasa by his strong arms. The mighty hero began to drag him violently. Being dragged by Bhīma and dragging Bhīma also, the cannibal was gradually overcome with great fatigue. The earth trembled in consequence of their great strength, and large trees that stood there were all broken to pieces. Seeing that the cannibal was overcome with fatigue, Vṛkodara pressed him down on the earth, with his knees, and he then began to strike him with great force. Then placing one knee on the middle of his back, Bhīma seized his neck with his right hand and his waist-cloth with his left; he then broke him into two with great force. He (the cannibal) then uttered a fearful yell.... Then the Rākṣasa, when he was thus fearfully broken by Bhīma, vomitted blood. Baka, huge as a mountain, being thus broken by Bhīma died uttering fearful yells... Terrified by that noise, the relatives of that Rākṣasa with their attendants came out of their houses.”³³ We may imagine what this noise would be from what is said in the epic about similar struggles. Of the fight of Ghaṭotkaca, shortly before his death, we read that the clash produced by the trees “became as loud as the sound of the

33. *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparvan, 6307-6318; (Dutt's transl., I, p. 231).

roaring thunder”³⁴ and at the time of Jarāsandha’s death, the poet adds: “The people of Magadha hearing the roaring of Bhīma thought that either the Himālayas were coming down or the earth was being rent asunder.”³⁵

It might have seemed therefore, that the inscription under study, though bearing no reference to the lion-fight represented on the seal was an allusion to the fight with Bakāsura, but for the fact that it takes place outside the city of Ekacakrā, not outside Orūr.

Yet this name is represented in the inscription by the sign ॐ,³⁶ which may also be written (from right to left) ॐ| is one, or; ॐ is city, ūr. But this latter sign may easily be taken for a wheel.³⁷ Accordingly, the Sanskrit-speaking people (without knowing the proper meaning of the sign ॐ, in translating an old Proto-Dravidian MS., would read ॐ “cakra” and consequently the two signs would make Ekacakra, a word which was not new to them as it was the name of the Sun chariot from R̥gvedic times.³⁸

The inscription therefore clearly refers to the episode of the slaying of Bakāsura by Bhīma outside the city of Orūr-Ekacakrā. It is to be noted that the statement of the inscription that “the noise outside the city of Orūr is the life of the house” is perfectly correct, because it was the din created by the fight that saved the life of the poor Brāhmaṇa, who otherwise would have been slain by the Rākṣasa.

The final conclusion we may make from this inscription is of extraordinary importance for the history of India. The people of the Indus Valley were acquainted with Bhīma’s fight with Bakāsura, related later on in the *Mahābhārata* as having occurred in Ekacakrā. Bhīma, therefore, and consequently his brothers and wife, existed at a time prior to the Indus Valley period. Therefore the nucleus of the poem, which is concerned with the five Pāṇḍavas, is older than the Indus Valley Civilization. The dwellers

34. *Ibid.*, Droṇa Parva, 8143.

35. *Ibid.*, Sabhā Parvan, 934.

36. Cf. Heras, “El Descriframiento,” *op. cit.*, p. 35.

37. Meriggi, “Zur Indus-Schrift,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, (N.F.) XII, p. 205, identifies ॐ with ॐ and ॐ which are clear wheels.

38. *R̥g.*, I, 164, 2; *Ath.*, IX, 9, 2; 8, 7. Since the names of large cities are always feminine in Sanskrit, *Ekacakra* naturally became *Ekacakrā*.

in the cities of the Indus Valley had heard the account of that great battle and of their ancestors' prowess in their dealings with the aboriginal people of the country, who in their state of lack of civilization and savagery are described as *rākṣasas* of monstrous form and hideous nature. The clangour of their weapons, the thunder of their chariots, and the intermittent hissing of their arrows, aimed at the enemy's heart, rang in the ears of the authors of civilization of the Indus Valley. They were only the successors of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, warrior families of hoary age, surrounded by a halo of mystery and awe, of ages of chivalry and heroism, of knowledge and renunciation, of high spiritual ideals and of realization of material beauty. Without this ancient background, the Indus Valley Civilization cannot be explained: that high state of culture which we wonder at so greatly, did not appear in a flash on the banks of the Indus as an ephemeral mushroom. It had deep roots in the country of the ancient Bhāratas. The ancient glorious deeds sung by the epic are the real foundation of all Indian culture and the seed of the glorious history of India.

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Amoghavarṣa I, and Karka Suvarṇavarṣa of Lāṭa

BY

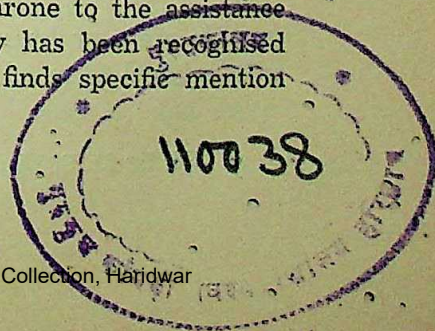
PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI
University of Madras

The powerful Rastrakuta emperor Govinda III died about A.D. 815 leaving on the throne a young boy Sarva Amoghavarṣa I. Sarva is said to have been born in the rainy weather of 802 when Govinda was encamping after a successful campaign in northern India in the city of Sribhavana in the territory of the feudatory Mara-Sarva.¹ Thus Amoghavarṣa was only about 12 or 13 years of age at the time of his accession.

Rastrakuta history was prolific of disputed successions and feudal rebellions, and the tender years of Amoghavarṣa offered great temptation to the feudatories of the empire to raise the banner of revolt. At this juncture the wise policy that Govinda had followed towards his younger brother Indraraja bore fruit and the empire was saved. Govinda himself had had to face at the death of his father and his own definitive accession to the throne a formidable rebellion headed by his elder brother Kambha in which a very large number of feudatories also took part. In that crisis Indraraja stood by the side of Govinda, and the two brothers succeeded in suppressing the revolt, compelling Kambha to reconcile himself to his feudatory position as governor of Gangavadi, thus confirming the choice of Govinda III for succession to the throne by his father and predecessor Dhruva. For his loyal and distinguished service Govinda rewarded his brother by making him the ruler of Lata mandala (Southern Guzerat). Now in a similar crisis at the commencement of Amoghavarṣa's reign, Indra's son Karka Suvarṇavarṣa went to the aid of his suzerain in the same manner.

This fact that Amoghavarṣa owed his throne to the assistance he got from his cousin of the Lata country has been recognised in a general way by all historians, and it finds specific mention

1. Radhanpur plates v. 18, EI. VI. pp. 249 ff.
Sanjan plates v. 26, EI. XVIII. p. 246.



in a verse which occurs in the copperplate grants of the Guzerat branch of the Rastrakutas. But the verse has not been correctly understood because it first came to light in late and rather corrupt readings. It is the object of this note to discuss the readings and contents of this verse and settle its precise import.

The history of the readings of this verse and the interpretations offered of it is represented sufficiently for our purpose by the following references :

1. The Bagumra plates A.D. 867 of Dhruva. v. 29. IA. XII p. 183 with translation by Buhler and Hultzsch at p. 188
2. Bagumra plates A.D. 888 of Krishna II of Ankulesvar v. 18 Ed. Hultzsch, IA. XIII p. 67
3. The Baroda plates of Dhruva II, A.D. 835-6, Ed. Hultzsch v. 10 IA. XIV, p. 199. Translation at page 201.

In this inscription the earliest version of the verse till then known makes a very near approach to the true reading and this did not escape the notice of Hultzsch who observed 'According to the undoubtedly correct reading of this new inscription and of the inscription No. iv Amoghavarsa in stanza 10 must not be taken as a secondary name of Karka II, but must be understood as referring to his cousin and feudal lord Sarva Amoghavarsa (s. 736-99), who belonged to the direct line of the Rastrakutas'. Ibid p. 197. By inscription No. iv Hultzsch means the Bagumra plates of 888 A.D. But in that record the reading of the last quarter of the verse was by no means as clear as in the Baroda plates and it is no wonder that its full significance could not be made out by Hultzsch when he edited the Bagumra plates. The reading of the Bagumra plates is

Yo 'moghavarsa-macirasvapade vydhatta, whereas the Baroda plates give distinctly

Yo 'moghavarsam acirat svapade vyadhhta.

It is only with the Baroda reading before us that it is possible to guess the true meaning of the Bagumra variant of it.

4. The Guzerat plates of Dantivarman A.D. 867² where the verse conforms with slight and insignificant variations to the other Bagumra plates of the same date, (1) above.

We are now fortunate in possessing the verse in its undoubtedly original form as it occurs in the Surat plates of Karka-rāja

2. Ed. By D. R. Bhandarkar v. 29, EI. VI. p. 290.

AMOGHAVARṢA I, AND KARKA SUVARNAVARṢA 23

Suvarṇavarṣa himself, A.D. 821. In this record³ it occurs as verse 39 and reads as follows :

svecchā-grhīta-viṣayān-dr̥ḍha-saṅghabhājah
 prodvṛtta-dr̥ptatara-śaulkika-rāṣtrakūṭān|
 utkhāta-khaḍga-nija-bāhu-balena jītvā
 yo-'moghavarṣam-acirāt svapade vyadhata||

Prof. Altekar who edits this record in *Epigraphia Indica* and offers comments on this important verse, which are valuable so far as they go, is content to leave it without offering a fresh translation of it, referring us to the translation of Hultzsch in Indian Antiquary XIV. Now, that translation reads :

"By the strength of his arm that wore the unsheathed, sword he vanquished the tributary Rāṣtrakūṭas who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army; and he speedily placed Amoghavarṣa on the throne."

A comparison of the translation with the original of the verse shows that there is much scope for improvement here. We have already noted the distinct advance towards the true meaning of the verse made by the discovery of the correct reading of its last quarter in the Baroda plates. Where the later records read.

Yo 'moghavarṣa iti rājya pade vyadhata,
 the Baroda plates have

Yo moghavarṣam acirāt svapade vyadhata.

This reading at once showed that Amoghavarṣa was not a title of Karka but the name of his cousin and suzerain, the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor of Malkhed. This alone enabled Hultzsch to give a fairly intelligible translation of the verse and a *prima facie* reasonable interpretation of it. But that translation and interpretation are rendered obsolete by the form of the verse as we have it in the Surat plates.

We shall now take the operative phrases in it one by one, and discuss them to the extent necessary for elucidating their true meaning.

First 'svecchāgrhīta viṣayān': The last member in this compound reads as 'vinayan' in the Baroda plates. Possibly impressed by the better reading of the last quarter of the verse in those plates Hultzsch accepted the reading 'vinayan' and inter-

3. EI. XXI. pp. 233 ff.

puted it in what now seems to be a rather forced manner by translating "after they had voluntarily promised obedience". But surely with 'viṣayan' put in the place of 'vinayan' the phrase would mean simply "who had captured the 'visyas' (territorial divisions) at their will".

Next "drdhasanghabhajah". Apparently this phrase is rendered by Hultzsch into "with a powerful army", a meaning which indeed it is difficult to justify. The phrase is better interpreted as "forming a close alliance or confederacy among themselves."

The next phrase that calls for attention is "śaulkika Rastrakutan." This was understood by Hultzsch as "tributary Rastrakutas" and he explained that by the rebellious Rastrakutas we must understand Govinda IV, Karka's younger brother and his followers. Now the evidence for assuming a rebellion on the part of Govinda IV is very meagre. It has been rightly pointed out⁴ that Govinda issued the Kāvi plates,⁵ A.D. 827, not as a usurper but perhaps simply as a deputy for Karka during Karka's absence in the campaigns he fought on behalf of Amoghavarsa. The omission of Govinda from the later charters of the Guzerat branch is also satisfactorily explained by the fact that he never ruled in his own right but only deputised for his brother for sometime. Now looking closely into the phrase 'śaulkika Rastrakutan' it is not easy to interpret it as 'tributary Rastrakutas' for the word 'śulka' means 'transit duties' and not 'tribute'. In the context I am inclined to interpret 'śaulkika Rastrakutan' as officers in charge of Sulka (transit duties) and administrative heads of the Rastras, the Rastrapatis who are regularly mentioned in all the donative records of the Rastrakuta line. We also know from inscriptions that the collection of Sulka was entrusted to high officials each in charge of a considerable district, like Vatsayya holding the Sulka of Belvola 300 in A.D. 904 (SII. XI. i. No. 24). If now we recall the force of the phrases that have gone before it becomes clear that we have here the record of an extensive and organised rebellion on the part of the officials of the kingdom who seem to have entered into a conspiracy to defy the authority of the boy emperor and declare themselves independent in their respective territorial divisions. This interpretation of the phrase 'Saulkika Rastrakutan' finds strong support in verses 38-41 of the Sanjan plates which speak of Kali, subverting the minds of the feudatories, the

4. Altekar : *Rāstrakutas* pp. 80-81.

5. IA. Vol. V. p. 144.

AMOGHAVARSA I, AND KARKA SUVARNAVARSĀ 25

ministers and the relatives of Amoghavarśa, of the prevalence of lawlessness and anarchy in the kingdom, of the setting of the Sun of the Rattas giving occasion to lesser luminaries to shine for a while, and of the subsequent rise once more of the Ratta sun with the aid of an Aryapatolamalla (Karka).

It was indeed a great crisis though which the empire passed in the early years of Amoghavarśa's reign and the trouble evidently lasted for several years and Karka, the loyal feudatory of Lata played a great part in saving the empire from disruptions and seating Amoghavarśa firmly once more on the throne. In the light of the foregoing observations the verse that has been the subject of our discussion may be rendered as follows: "By the strength of his arm that wore the unsheathed sword he vanquished the rebellious and proud Śaulkikas (officials of the Octroi department) and Rastrakutas (rastrapatis), who had seized the visayas (districts) at their pleasure and formed a close alliance among themselves; and he speedily placed Amoghavarśa on his throne."

It may be noted finally that the errors that crept into this verse and obscured its true meaning so long constitute a conspicuous example of the damage suffered by texts in being transcribed from generation to generation. The Baroda plates are hardly 15 years later than the Surat plates and they had got to write "vinayān" for "visayān" in the opening compound of the verse, and about 30 years later the last quarter of the verse undergoes a serious modification which irretrievably obscures its real import.

An Indian Christian Date, A. D. 317, from Hindu Documents

BY

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I

The dates 52 and 72 A.D. for the coming of St. Thomas to South India and his martyrdom there (as tradition which, it may be remarked, is not found recorded definitely in any document prior to *The Book of the Bee* by Bishop Mār Solomon, Metropolitan of Basrah, says, circa 1222,) have been accepted by many authors since the 19th century as the most reliable or probable among

(a) 50, 51, 52, 52-53, 67, 78, and 84 for his coming, and

(b) 58, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 78, 90, and perhaps 93 also for his death, rejecting even 68 A.D. given in the Latin inscription on the Gospel side of the Mylapore tomb Madras (South India). All these are evidently dates arbitrarily assigned to the two events by Christian calculators according to their own reasoning, since the 18th century.

II

But in three purely Hindu documents of Cochin in Malabar (South India) there was discovered by a Hindu gentleman—Mr. V. K. R. Menon, M.A., M.Sc. (Lond.)—the chronogram *rauravam dēvarājyam*, it being the kali day of the coming of Christians to Cranganore (ancient *Muziris* of the *Periplus*, Pliny, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Ptolemy, and other writers), and their converting the Chera king of that city of Malabar to Christianity. *Rauravam dēvarājyam* (meaning the Kingdom of God—(preached by the missionaries come from Baghdad)—is *rauravam*, the horrible hell of the Hindus) is found in one of the above documents, among about a dozen chronograms relating to ancient Malabar events, and denotes Thursday, 30th *Kumbham* of the *Kali* year 3418, or 14th February 317 A.D.

The third of the above palm-leaf documents says, in substance, that in the days of the 7th Perumāḷ (=the Chera King of Cran-

ganore) one or two *Bauddhas* (= non-Hindus) came from Baghdad in a foreign land, landed at Mahōdēvar (=Makotai of Tamil), proceeded to Cranganore (the capital), and made known to him their *Śāstra* (= doctrine), and that the king being converted, insisted that all should adopt this *Śāstra*.

The language of the narrative from which the above passage has been taken is not Tamil of 317 A.D., but Malayalam of about 1700, or 1600. It appears, therefore, that the narrative is a modern record of events found in long-standing Hindu tradition. This is evidenced also by the name Mahodevar, and the words '*Bauddhas*', '*Śāstra*', and '*Veda*'. These are used not in their ancient senses in Sanskrit, but in the general Malayalam senses respectively of despicable non-Hindus (Buddhists, Jews, Christians, Muslims, etc.), any non-Vedic doctrine, and religion. '*Veda*' seems to have been given the sense of 'religion', especially Christianity ('*Satya Veda*m', = true religion, in Tamil) by the Madura Missionary Robert de Nobili (1605-56), and it gained currency in Malabar *Christian* writings also. Presumably, De Nobili found some fancied resemblance between Sanskrit '*veda*', and Greek *hodos* (= 'The Way', Christianity), or Latin '*fides*' (= 'faith', Christianity) !

The Arab city of Baghdad, we know, was built only in 763 near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, on a very ancient site of the same name, and Bar-Hebraeus (1246-1286) says that Elias, the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, re-established at Baghdad, in 910, the ancient residence of the Orthodox Catholicos, which had been unoccupied since the Nestorian schism (A.D. 432).—(*Chronicon Eccles.*, ed. Lamy, II. 236). Marco Polo (1293) says that the Bishop of the Isle of Males and the Isle of Females is subject to the Archbishop of Socotra, who is under the great Archbishop of Baudas (Baghdad). But Baghdad in the above extract from Malayalam may mean Seleucia, or the Semitic region in general.

And as for Mahōdēvar, it was founded in the 7th-8th century, there being no reference to it earlier, although Malabar Christian tradition and Bp. Roz (1604) assign its foundation to 345, i.e., some months before the 1st of March, 346. See IV *infra*. Much later dates also are given by others (e.g., Do Couto, 811 A.D.; De Barros, 886; a chronogram, 745 A.D.).

III

It may be recalled here that long before the discovery of the above documents in 1940, there was mention of a Chera King's conversion to '*Mārgga*', in published Hindu records called *Kēraḷōl-*

pattis (= origin of Malabar); and *Mārgga* (= 'Way') was held to be Buddhism, Christianity (= 'The Way', *hodos* of the Gospels), and Islam respectively by the Hindus, Christians, and Muslims of Malabar.

And some forty years before 1928 there was dug up at Nilanpērūr in Central Travancore, a bronze statuette *with a cross* on its chest, from the earth under the floor of a building believed by the Hindus to have been built over the tomb of a Cranganore (Chera) king known among them as 'Paḷli-vāṇa-Perumāl', i.e., 'the Chera king who (had left his capital, and) resided (after conversion) in a Paḷli', a house of devotion (belonging to any *non-Hindu* religious community in Malabar). Photos of this statuette were, in or after 1928, published in Travancore, and in Europe by the present writer in the *Kerala Society Papers* (1930), in his *Malabar Christians* (1929), and in the *Bulletin of the International Congress of Historical Sciences*, Warsaw, Poland (1933). It is not unreasonable to believe that this cross-wearing king is the same as the one converted to the 'Baghdad Baudhdhas' '*rauravam*' (Christianity, orthodox or Arian?) in A.D. 317. For Hindu documents know only the tradition about a single Hindu king who was converted to '*Mārgga*', or '*Veda*'.

IV

At least two other Hindu chronograms seem to appertain to this king, viz.—

(a) '*Chēramān dēśam prāpa*' (= the Chera king arrived in the land, or at the place—presumably, the place where the above statuette was unearthed). This indicates 25th *Thulam* of *Kali* 3444 = A.D. 343.

(b) '*Bhūvibhāga*' (=the partition of the land—presumably for giving the portion where the statuette was found, to the king). This indicates *Kali* 3444 as before.

Chronograms about this king seem to have been current in 1604 A.D., for Archbishop Roz of Cranganore recorded in that year that a Perumāl (= Chera king) of Cranganore "died on 1st March, 1258 years before", i.e., in 346 A.D. Was it the above cross-wearing king? Probably it was.

V

The date 317 comes after the following events in the near west:—

(1) A.D. 312 (October): Conversion of Constantine (306-337) on seeing "the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above

the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this: toutō nika" (Greek).

(2) A.D. 313: Edict of Toleration by the same Emperor.

(3) C. A.D. 313: Arius' heretical propaganda began.

(4) A.D. 315: Synod of Papa, first Catholicos of Seleucia—Ctesiphon (280-328), very near the Baghdad of the extract in II ante.

We may suppose that a Bishop from Cranganore (if there were one there at that time) attended this Synod and informed Papa of the condition of Christians in Malabar, and of the conversions of Malabar Hindus to Buddhism. So the Catholicos, with his new-gained dignity and zeal, secured, we may assume, a letter from Constantine the Arian to the King of Malabar, and in 317 sent to him 'one or two Baudhdhas', with that letter. They came, they preached, and they converted him (? probably to Arianism) from, say, Buddhism which perhaps he had already embraced. [Bishop 'John of Fars (or Persia ?) and Great India' (325 A.D.) was not in Nicea from Cranganore. See XI infra.]

VI

Now, "about A.D. 295-300, Dūdi (David) bishop of Baṣrah—left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people", says Dr. Mingana in his *Early Spread of Christianity in India* (1926), pp. 18 and 63 of reprint. Granting that 'India' here was not one of the ancient pseudo-Indias (See XIII, Arabia, Ethiopia, etc.) West of Persia, could we imagine that Dūdi was one of those preachers sent to Cranganore in 317? 'About 295-300' is only a rough estimate by Dr. Mingana. We must wait for a definite date for Mar Dūdi's journey.

VII

According to Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* I, 524) Awgin or Eugene (died April 363) came from the Nitrean desert in Egypt with seventy disciples to Nisibis in Northern Mesopotamia, and founded near it, in Mount Izla, a monastery, where he gathered three hundred and fifty monks, and from this two missionaries are said to have been sent to India according to the Syriac work *The Preaching of the Apostles* (which we cannot consult here). Were they the two who came to Cranganore in 317? Probably not. The two disciples from the school of Awgin came very probably to North West India, rather than to Arabia, or Ethiopia, or South India.

VIII

We know that a few years before, i.e., "between 265 and 270", Mār Ammō the Manichæan missionary came to the Kushan country beyond the Hindukush, to the N. W. of India, i.e., "beyond Marv into the former Kusān dominions and reached districts near Balkh, possibly even Balkh itself," as Dr. W. B. Henning says in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* for July 1944 (XI, No. 2), pp. 85-90, and in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1947 (Vol. XII, Pt. 1), p. 49. Did Mār Ammō, "Mani's Apostle of the East" as Dr. Henning styles him (in the above, p. 49), or his successor send to Cranganore the two missionaries of 317 A.D.? Probably not.

IX

Far south of Mār Ammō's region, viz., in the Indus estuary and its neighbourhood called Scythia (= the land of the Indo-Scythians and Scytho-Parthians, 'Sakadvīpa' of Hindu writers) in the *Periplus* (60 A.D.), there seem to have been Manichæans under Adda, a direct disciple of Mani, in c. 317, our date from the *rauravam* chronogram. For Epiphanius of Judea, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (315-402) says in his Greek work against heresies, *Adversus Haereses*, 374-377 A.D. (Migne, P. Gr.-L., XLII, col. 47) that "Adda went to the further region", i.e., some region east of Persia, or of Manes' own land Babylon. Again *Acta Disputationes Archelai* (Ch. 11) says, 'Adda partes sortitus est Oriētes', and further down, 'Addas vero Scythiae (partis... voluit occupare.)'—Ch. LIII). The original of this *Acta* was in Syriac by Archelaus, Bishop of Casarea (Kaskar) in Mesopotamia, lying on the outskirts of Seleucia. (See Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, pp. 203-11).

The 'further region', 'partes Oriētes' and 'partis Scythiae' mentioned above indicate the Indus estuary and neighbourhood. And Oriētes ('the East') in the Latin translation perhaps stands for the Dravidian (Brahui) country of the Oritae, or Orae immediately to the west of the river Hab now forming the frontier between India and Baluchistan. (See *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 380-81). The Orae are mentioned in the *Periplus* also. They are the Oritai of Nearchus, Horitae of Q. Curtius, Oretes of Pliny (77 A.D.), and Oreitans of Dionysios Periegetes. What the Syriac form of 'Orae' or 'Oritae' was in the Syriac original of *Acta* we do not know. Some years later Theodore (died 457-8) converted 'Scythia, of the *Acta* into 'Syria', and 'Adda' into 'Alda', in his sentence, "*Et Aldam quidem ad praedicandum*

misit in Syriam." Greek $A\wedge\Delta A$ for $A\Delta\Delta A$ in uncials is, of course, an excusable error. (See Postscript 1 for Dr. Henning's remarks.)

X

From the above Indo-Scythian region Adda could send Manichaeans to Cranganore in 317 A.D., and if they were of Semitic stock they could be described wrongly as having come from Baghdad. We brought Manichaeans into the picture simply because there is a theory (based on the name of *Mānikka-Vāchakar* who is said to have re-converted some Christians of Quilon in Travancore to Hinduism—Saivism—by his sorcery) that Manikka-Vachakar was a Manichaean. And 315 A.D. is the date given in a Travancore Christian MS. of about 1830 for that defection. (Incidentally it may be mentioned that the author of that MS. was visited by Dr. Buchanan, who drew also a picture of that scholar for his *Christian Researches*. Did that scholar get the date 315 from Dr. Buchanan?) Dr. Henning, dealing with two Manichaean magical texts in the *Bulletin*, 1947, Vol XII, Part 1, quoted in VIII ante, characterises Manichaeism as wallowing in "the slime of witchcraft and sorcery" (p. 39 of *Bulletin*).

Instead of asserting that the abovenamed sorcerer from the Tamil country was not a Manichaean, we shall leave the problem to be solved after further research, observing that Adda's Manichaeans from the estuary of the Indus could easily come to the Tamil country on the Coromandal Coast through Central India and spread that religion there, imbibing at the same time Saivism and other religious cults found there, and that from the Tamil country Manichaeism masquerading at once as Christianity and Saivism could reach Quilon on the West Coast and cause the secession. The better known Manikka-Vachakar of the Tamil country is certainly not of about 315 A.D., but of a much later age.

It is possible that the man's original designation was Manichee—*Vaśakara* (=Manichaean Sorcerer, versed in *vaśakriyā*, charms, incantations, etc.), and that later on it came to be assimilated to the wellknown title Manikka-Vāśakar (=of ruby-like utterances).

XI

The two "Baghdad Baudhdhas" could also be supposed to have come to Cranganore from one of the following quarters:—

1. Antioch in Syria, under which was Seleucia—Ctesiphon, ecclesiastically, for some time.
2. Edessa, where Aphraates (275-345), a monk commonly called 'the Persian Sage,' was Bishop. For Nisibis near it, see VII.

3. Fars in N.W. Persia, with Riwardashir as metropolis, N.W. of modern Bushire. Dr. Mingana (*Early Spread... in India*, p. 61) says "that the Metropolitans of this city had much to do with the bishops of India proper, and probably all the bishops of India before about A.D. 330 were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir." In our opinion Fars had under her only the Bishops along the Persian Coast up to the Indus valley as well as those of South Arabia, and sometimes of Ethiopia, both called India. It is possible, therefore that Mar John who signed himself as 'of Persia and Great India' was in 317 bishop of this Fars and "Arabia Magna."

He must have signed in Syriac (and not in Greek or Pahlavi), and the name must have been *Pares*, which in Syriac denoted either Persia in general, or Fars in particular (*ibid.*, p. 59). We take *Pares* in the restricted sense, and believe that John was of Fars, and his Great India was Arabia Felix, called by the Greeks Arabia Magna extending to the *farthest ocean*. Since Arabia was anciently (wrongly) called India by non-Greek and non-Latin people, Mar John probably put in 'India' Magna, Great India. See XIII. His jurisdiction may, or may not have extended to Ethiopia, which was also (wrongly) called 'India.' "The bishops of the country (of the Katars in Arabia) were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir," says Mingana (p. 58 of *ibid.*).

On pp. 63 and 13 of *ibid.* he says that "Great India is used of Ethiopia and Arabia Felix combined," by Michael the Great, the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch from 1166-99. This combination is probable because (as we know from South Arabian and Ethiopian history) until A.D. 378 or so both Ethiopia and South Arabia were under the same king, ruling from Aksum. So Mar John may have been Bishop of this "Great India" and of Fars in 325, and not of India proper.

XII

Like those coming from Baghdad or Seleucia, those from Antioch, Edessa, and Fars mentioned above in XI, must have come through the Persian Gulf. The question is chiefly whether the two 'Baghdad Baudddhas' came to Cranganore in 317 from Seleucia or from Fars. Personally we are inclined to vote for Seleucia, ignoring even the possibility of their having come from Alexandria (in Egypt), where in 317 Alexander (d. 328) was bishop, with Athanasius 'contra mundum' (300-373) as his deacon.

Alexandria seems to have had no ecclesiastical relations with 'India Orientalis,' 'India of the Brahmins,' 'India in the confines of the world'—i.e. India proper, the India of Bartholomew and Pantaenus being "Citerior India *arherent to Ethiopia*," as Rufinus (C. 368) describes it (H.E. 1, 9: "*Aethiopia, eique adhaerens citerior India*"); or as Socrates (5th cent.) translates it, "*India quae Aethiopiae confinis est*—(his Greek word is '*Sunemmenen*')—to distinguish it from 'India of the Brahmins.' Before Rufinus Eusebius had (c. 325) recorded that Pantaenus (A.D. 189-90), according to tradition, went as far as the 'Indians,' which was a vague term used to denote Ethiopians, Arabians, etc., besides the Indians of India proper. It was Jerome (342—420) who, without citing any tradition, or document (see Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 17), and probably without having read Edesius the Phoenician's oral account recorded by Rufinus his contemporary (in *loc. cit.*, *supra*), who gave the wrong lead by interpreting the "Indians" of the tradition noted down by Eusebius—even he cites no Pantaenus document)—as the Brahmins, definitely, in his sentence: "*Pantaenus — — — missus est in Indiam, ut Christum apud Brachmanas — — — praedicaret.*"

XIII

Like most other Latins and non-Byzantine Greeks Jerome very probably had the notion that Indians and India found even in non-Latin and non-Greek records meant the Brahmins and India proper in every instance. 'Citerior India' is probably not Rufinus' own term but a quotation of Edesius the Phoenician's term; and there is evidence that the ancient Syrians, Hebrews, and Persians, and the Byzantine Greeks had 'Indias' and 'Indians' west of Persia. (See this *Journal*, 1947, pp. 175-87.)

A

Bevan says: "Spiegel has clearly shown by sufficient references that, at least in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier," (than 226 A.D.) "there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east" at the extreme ends of the Iranian world (*Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 425.).

B

Bishop Mar John the West Syrian (6th cent.) said that "all the regions of Ethiopia" formed India—"Indiam omnem plagam Aethiopiae accepimus." See the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, 58, p. 672. Abdias (c. 600) the Syrian says: "*Indiae tres esse ab*

historiographis asseruntur. Prima est India, quae ad Aethiopiam vergit; secunda, quae ad Medos; tertia quae finem facit." See J. C. Thilo's *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli, Lipsiae*, 1823, p. 113. Here India No. 3 is India proper; No. 1 is Arabia (=Edesius—Rufinus' 'India adherent to Ethiopia'). No. 2 seems to be Mesopotamia—Assyria. See XIII D.

C

As for "Indians", Pseudo-Kallisthenes (4th cent.) is the first known non-Semitic (Byzantine Greek) writer who calls the Ethiopians Indians by saying (in 3. 7: McCrindle's *Ancient India --- Classical*, p. 179) that at Auxum "a petty Indian king resided." In the 7th cent. we find that Theophylactus called the Homerites of South Arabia Indians (*Acta Sanctorum, ut supra*, tom. 58, p. 672). Aphrahat the Syrian (275-345) called the Ethiopians Indians.

D

For Indians and Indias of Syriac authors other than those cited above (XIII B and C) see Mingana (*op. cit.*, pp. 11—14), who confesses (p. 11) that "The problem is very complex, and we dare not here attempt to solve it in its various phases and developments." He cites Aphrahat (275-345) the Syrian of Edessa, much earlier than Mar John (6th cent.) or Abdias (c. 600) quoted in XIII-B, to show that he called the Ethiopians Indians (p. 12). Aphrahat is not perhaps one of the writers referred to by Abdias (c. 600) in his phrase "*ab historiographis asseruntur*," quoted above. These historiographers' writings do not probably exist now. (See Postscript 2).

E

Another Semitic writer, one anterior to Aphrahat, *viz.*, the author of 1 Maccabees, written "In the 1st or 2nd decade of the 1st century B.C." also tells us (ch. 8, v. 8) that "the country of the Indians and of the Medes and of the Lydians, some of their best provinces" (*i.e.*, of Antiochus the Great, B.C. 223—187) were taken by the Romans and given to king Eumenes of Pergamum. This India cannot be in India proper. It is probably India No. 2 of Abdias, verging on the Medes ('India quae ad Medos vergit'), although some commentators correct 'Indians' in that verse into 'Ionians,' under the wrong notion that there were no Indians or Indias west of Persia.

XIV

Were there Christians in Malabar before the conversion, in 317 A.D., of the king of Cranganore? We have no evidence. St. Bartholomew (c. 50), and Pantaenus (189—90 A.D.) did not come to Malabar or any other part of India proper. See XII *ante*, and Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 17. As for Bishop Mar Dūdi (VI *ante*), his date and his 'India' have yet to be ascertained.

The earliest documents on Christianity in India may be considered here. They are (besides the spurious 1st century *charitam*, XX *infra*) :—

1. St. Thomas' letters from India (not extant).
2. A genuine *Acts of Thomas* in Syriac (probably the original of No. 3 below).
3. The Syriac Gnostic *Acts* of c. 220 A.D.
4. *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, c. 260, also called *The Edessene Canons*, or *The Canons of Addai*, and quite different from the *Didache* and the *Didascalía*," *ap.* Dr. Burkitt.

Of these four, Nos. 3 and 4 alone are now available for consideration. The latter, *The Doctrine of the Apostles* (of the 3rd cent. according to Dr. Burkitt), by an Edessene author 'who flourished not much later than A.D. 250' (Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 16, a), i.e., in about 260, let us suppose, says definitely that "after the death of the Apostles there were Guides and Rulers in the churches.....(who) at their deaths also committed and delivered to their disciples after them everything.....also what..... Judas Thomas (had written) from India, that the epistles of an Apostle might be received and read in the churches, in every place, like those Triumphs of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read, that by this the Apostles might be known." "The passage seems to have stood originally in the *Doctrine of Addai*," of circa 200 A.D., as Dr. Farquhar says (in *Thomas in North India*, 1926, pp. 27, 33). Perhaps St. Thomas' letters ceased to be read by c. 260 A.D., or c. 200.

XV

The genuine *Acts of Thomas* can reasonably be supposed to have incorporated incidents of the period before the martyrdom, from these letters to Edessa, and those after it from letters written by one of St. Thomas' disciples in Mazdai's kingdom in India proper, e.g., by Sifur the General, Wizan (Mazdai's son); or Xanthippus the deacon, or even Gondophares. And the

Gnostic manipulator had no reason to replace the genuine incidents already well known, for seven generations, by fabrications of his own, his sole object having been the interpolation of discourses, prayers, etc., inculcating Gnostic doctrines. See Medlycott's *Thomas in India*, pp. 291-2, where the conclusion of von Carl Schmidt ("In my opinion a Gnostic romance of the Apostles is a phantom") is quoted. *Vide also Preface to op. cit.*, pp. vii—ix. So we can take the incidents (including the journeys) in the *Acts of Thomas* (c. 220) as reliable.

It is by doing so that we may affirm that St. Thomas came to Gundaphar's (Gondophares') city in the Punjab, N. W. India, whether or not he went to 'Parthia' as tradition recorded by Origen in his *Comm. on Genesis*, written between 228 and 231 A.D., says, and even if the 'Parthia' of his tradition (*paradosis*) be not the territory of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares of Taxila (A.D. 19 to 55....). While preaching in that city and its neighbourhood for some time the Apostle (adds the *Acts*) went by land in a bullock-cart to Mazdai's kingdom, and was, after a short period of evangelistic work, martyred at that king's command, by soldiers (and not by a priest or fowler). We take this short and last land journey (and not a voyage in a boat or ship) as having been mentioned in St. Thomas' final letter to Edessa, and therefore, reliable. That means that he died somewhere near (perhaps to the west of) Taxila, and therefore in N. W. India itself. So neither the *Acts* of c. 220, nor Origen, c. 230, tells us anything about Malabar, or about any religion there. *Pace* Dr. Medlycott (*Thomas*, pp. 260-61), there is in the *Acts* no "detail...peculiar to Southern India" (*ibid.*, p. 277), nor any South Indian name like Damirike, Kerobothras, Muziris, Purrhon Mountain, Nelkynda, etc., all these being names found in writings of the first or second century A.D. (Of these Muziris and Nelkynda, i.e., modern Cranganore and Nālkida, practically Niranam, are localities in which St. Thomas is said to have set up crosses and built two of his 7 or 7½ Malabar churches). (See Postscript 3).

XVI

On the other hand, if we agree with Dr. Burkitt and Dr. Sylvain Lévi in regarding the *Acts* as unhistorical, there will be no documentary evidence at all for the existence of Christianity anywhere in India in St. Thomas' days. Dr. Burkitt even affirms that the name Gundaphar of the *Acts* has only the same historical value as Ahasuerus in *Esther*. See his article on St. Thomas in *Ency. Brit.*, last two editions. Prof. Sylvain Lévi (in his letter to the

present writer, dated 29th April, 1927) said.... "you are right in denying any historical value to local legends" (of South India) "which have nothing to bring to their support." (Vide XX for a *first century* Tamil chronicle from Niranam in Travancore, and a song 'of 1601 A.D.' based on it). Lévi continues: "What is known from early books points only to North-West India, and no other place, for Saint Thomas' apostolic activity and martyrdom. This is, of course, mere tradition too, no real history." (But see XV). (Levi's letter was published in *The Young Men of India* (Calcutta) for July 1927, p. 402).

Apart from documentary evidence, there is no archaeological evidence for Christianity in India in the earliest centuries, the Taxila cross and other crosses dug up in N. W. India being of uncertain date. For instance Seals No. 108 and 528 b on Plate CXIV in Vol. III of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjodaro* show crosses which are undoubtedly pre-Christian, probably of the 4th millennium B.C. Again, pre-Christian crosses of the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. appear on cast coins also. Vide Allan's *Coins of Ancient India*, Brit. Museum, 1936, Plate XXXV. Another pre-Christian cross, a small red one on white background, on a piece of carnelian, dug up at Taxila, and estimated to be of the 3rd century B.C., was in 1946 presented by Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly to the Indian Red Cross Society.

But the small, equal-armed Taxila cross turned up by the polugh in a field on the borders of Sirkap in Taxila in 1935 (Sirkap was Gondophares' new city) may be assigned to the period after the vision of the cross-sign in heaven by Constantine in 312 A.D., or rather after the 'Invention of the Cross' by his mother in 326. It is of dark stone of the same geological nature as that used for small trinket-boxes believed to date "from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D." Unlike the other crosses this has a hole at the tip of its upper limb, which very probably indicates that it was worn as an ornament, or a religious symbol. Though Malabar claims that St. Thomas set up seven crosses, the cross did not come into vogue among Christians elsewhere in the world in the 1st-3rd century.

XVII

We may hold that there were Christians in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the parts of India adjacent to them in about 196 A.D. For Bardaisan (d. 222, converted 179), of Edessa in his *Book of Fate*, also called *Book of the Laws of Countries*, contrasts the habits of Christian and pagan Kaishānāyē, i.e., Kushans, Persians, Parthians, and others. Vide Mingana's *Early Spread... in India*,

p. 16. Bardaisan's Kushans are probably those in the Kushan empire of N. W. India, Afghanistan, and the regions beyond, which lasted from about 50 A.D. to about 230 (if as Sir John Marshall says in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947, Pt. 1 & 2, p. 32, Kanishka's era began in about 128). The Christians among them were probably the descendants of those converted by St. Thomas or his disciple Gondophares (A.D. 19-55....) and other Indo-Parthian and Indian Christians of N. W. India conquered by the Kushans in c. 50 A.D.

Most probably there were Christians in this Indo-Parthian region, both among Parthians and Indians also in c. 196, before Adda, Manes' disciple perhaps visited them in about 317 as supposed in IX ante. But the *Book of Fate* does not mention the customs of the Indian Christians (of c. 196) among the Indo-Parthians and the Kushans of India, probably because by that time they had adopted Persian, Parthian, or Kushan dress, speech, etc., and Bardaisan could not distinguish them in Edessa from the true Persians, Parthians, and Kushans. The features of those Indian Christian visitors to Edessa for ecclesiastical purposes, or on business, as well as their complexion, must have been like those of Parthians, Persians, Greeks, and Kushans owing to about two centuries' miscegenation subsequent to long-time mixture with Persians, Greeks, and other white people in N. W. India. Near it was 'White India.'

Quintus Curtius says: The men of North India "cover their persons down to the feet with fine muslin, are shod with sandals, and coil round their heads cloths of linen.... The beard of the chin they never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished."—(Alex. 8, 9: McCrindle's *Ancient India*.... Alexander, p. 188). Accordingly in the Acts (c. 220), Act 8, we find Karish taking the turban of one of the servants, and putting it round the neck of St. Thomas, and ordering them to drag him along to King Mazdai of N. W. India. Turbans could not have been in use then in South India. (Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 16, however, sees no Christians among the N. W. Indians in c. 196).

XVIII

From this Kushan-Parthian region of N. W. India Christianity could possibly reach the chief ports and marts of the West Coast down to Malabar, Cosmas' Male (two syllables), and some of the chief cities in the adjoining Andhra empire (which seems to have come to an end about 225 A.D.), and thence reach the Madras Coast. All this could have happened before 317 A.D., the date of

the coming of the Baghdad preachers of 'rauravam' (II *supra*). But it is impossible to adduce evidence for it, as for the existence of St. Thomas' Christians, or other Christians in South India in the days of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, c. 260, quoted below.

XIX

The *Doctrine*, which according to Dr. Burkitt (*Kerala Society Papers*, Series 6, Trivandrum, 1930, p. 287, col. 1 of his article 'St. Thomas and His Feasts') 'may be safely dated in the 3rd century A.D.', informs us that "India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostles' hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler in the Church which he built there, and ministered there."

A

By 'India' the author means, of course, India of Gundaphar and Mazdai already assigned to St. Thomas in the *Acts* of c. 220, although Alexandrian tradition called it 'Parthia' in the same period (c. 230). India of the *Acts* and the *Doctrine* (c. 260)—both Edessene works—is the Indus region, and cannot be interpreted as the whole of modern India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, even though in those centuries Greek and Latin writers did call the whole land (*plus* even regions to the west of the Indus and to the east of the Ganges, as Ptolemy, c. 150, did) 'India'. So 'India and all its own countries' are the Indus region of the Parthian Gondophares, and of the Kushans and others who ruled over that region later up to the time of writing the *Doctrine* (c. 260), the land comprising as 'its own', several countries from Kashmir down to, say, the Kushan Satrapies of Maharashtra and Malwa. There may have been Christians in that vast region in c. 260, and the author may have had information about them, but not of people in Malabar.

B

'The farthest sea' is most probably the Arabian (Erythrean) Sea, which Philostorgius (A.D. 423) designated 'the farthest ocean,' or 'the outer sea.' See Medlycott's *Thomas*, pp. 189, 194, and 201. The Syrian author of the *Doctrine* had very probably the Biblical notion that South Arabia was at the remotest end of the earth. For in Matthew 12:42 (c. 100) we find Christ speaking of Sheba (=Arabia Felix, now El Yemen), the land of the Queen of the South, as at 'the very ends of the earth'. And

Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews* (revised in Greek, 93 A.D.) speaks of the Arabians as 'the remotest Arabians'. Again, Tacitus in his *History* (Bk. V, ch. 6) says: '*Terra finesque, quae ad Orientem vergunt, Arabia terminantur*' (= 'the land and the ends which lie towards the east are terminated by Arabia'). As we saw in XII ante, the tradition about Pantaenus (who came to South Arabia) was that he went 'as far as' the Indians. So the sea laving South Arabia could, quite naturally, be called 'the farthest' or remotest sea at 'the very ends of the earth'.

We can concede also that ancient writers regarded, or could regard, other seas as the farthest. For instance—

1. Hecataeus of Miletus (born c. 540 B.C.)—(a) the Atlantic Ocean at the Pillars of Hercules, and (b) the Bay of Bengal.
2. Herodotus of Halicarnassus (c. 484—425 B.C.)—the Bay of Bengal.
3. Pytheas of Massilia (c. 300 B.C.)—the sea lying north of Great Britain, and laving '*Ultima Thule*' of the north.
4. Eratosthenes (276—196 B.C.)—the Bay of Bengal.
5. Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.)—the China Sea.

But the question is whether the Edessene author of the *Doctrine*, c. 260, had any chance of taking one of the above seas as the farthest. It is most probable that by 'the farthest sea' he meant the sea laving Arabia.

And as a matter of fact we find not only Christians, but also bishoprics even in 225 A.D. in and near South Arabia called 'the very ends of the earth'. For instance in—

1. Baith Katraye, the Arabian region on the west coast of the Persian Gulf;
2. Baith Lapat, the metropolis of the above;
3. Hormizd—Ardashir, the town of Ahwaz on the Karun;
4. Pherat de Maishan (Basrah);
5. Baith Huzaye (Khuzistan);
6. Fars, east of the Persian Gulf; and
7. Arabia Felix, Arabia Magna (South Arabia), visited by Pantaenus in 189—99. (*Vide* Mingana, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 58, 59, 61, 63—64 for all the above.)

Moreover, we find about 780 A.D., from Bar—Hebraeus (1246—86) that "the bishops of the province of Fars....used to

say, We have been evangelised by the Apostle Thomas".—Mingana, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. They used to say so from St. Thomas' days, he means. Did S. India say so in that period?

Some 250 years before, the Syriac work *Acta Maris* (c. 520) speaks of St. Thomas' odour (tradition about martyrdom) as having been extant in Fars. Mari (1st cent.), Bishop of Ctesiphon, after having preached in Baith-Huzaye (Khuzistan), north of Fars, 'went down to the southern countries until the odour of Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted to him; and there also he brought a great number of people to the Lord'.—(Mingana, *ibid.*, p. 29; Medlycott, *Thomas*, pp. 36-7). In 'the southern countries', i.e., in the southern parts of Khuzistan, or on the borders of Fars, he heard the fame of St. Thomas and his martyrdom in N.W. India being talked of. 'Odour' perhaps indicates martyrdom; and its tradition spreading from the Indus region to Fars alone and no further would mean that he preached also in those South-Western parts of the Parthian empire.

In c. 230 Origen heard the tradition about St. Thomas' preaching there, and so it was that he recorded that St. Thomas went to *Parthia*. Of course, this Parthia has been explained otherwise also—as the Parthian Gondophares' region, which also perhaps was meant by the tradition.

We think that St. Thomas met Habbān in Fars, and sailed with him to 'Sandaruk', which we interpret as Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great among the Oritae in Baluchistan. Vide IX *ante*, and *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. I. In St. Thomas' Aramaic letter this Alexandria was probably truncated, and *uk* was added. Thus 'Alexandria', or rather 'Alexander—oikos', or—*oikia* (Greek, meaning Alexander's 'house'; Syriac *baith*, Hebrew *beth* as in 'Bethlehem') became 'Sandaruk'. *Uk* in 'Sandar-uk' may, in the alternative, be a word or suffix of the language of the Sandarukian Oritae. Shortening was usual in Semitic and Indian languages. 'Constantinopolis' has become 'Istambul', for instance; and 'Alexander' has several curtailed forms in Semitic ('Sikandar', 'Iskandar', etc.), and Indian languages ('Alasanda', northern; and 'Ālak', 'Chāndy', 'Ökkānda', etc., southern).

While equating Sandaruk with 'Alexandria among the Oritae', we are not unaware that Dr. Farquhar and others have identified it with Andropolis in Egypt, and with other places like Cranganore. In the Greek translation of the 4th century 'Sandaruk' appears as 'Andropolis'—(Alek-) *sander-uk*=*Andra-polis*.

As shown in the previous paragraphs of this section (B) there were Christians and bishoprics, very early, perhaps in the whole region to the west of the mouth of the Indus, up to 'the farthest sea' laving 'Arabia Magna', i.e., South Arabia. But we find no mention of Christians or bishops in c. 196 in the parts of India other than the N.W., where they probably continued to exist in 225 and c. 260 A.D. So the *Doctrine's* 'countries bordering on India and all its own countries' would be those along the seaboard of 'the farthest sea' (the Arabian) from the estuary of the Indus to Arabia, including Fars, which in c. 780, and before, used to claim *evangelisation* by St. Thomas.

C

It does not, however, mean that *all* the countries along that region were *evangelised* by St. Thomas himself. The *Doctrine* says only that they 'received the Apostle's *hand of priesthood* from Judas Thomas', i.e. the imposition of hands for Apostolic succession, and not the Gospel (evangel). The hand of priesthood could be received *directly* from him (e.g., in Gundaphar's and Mazdai's regions, and also in Fars); or *indirectly* (in other parts) after his martyrdom, by the imposition of the hands of those on whom he had laid his hands while in Fars and the upper Indus region (but not in Sandaruk).

XX

In XVI *supra* we mentioned a first century Tamil chronicle recording the details of St. Thomas' work and death in *South India*. It is in a Malayalam song on St. Thomas, said to be of 1601 A.D., and generally known as 'Thomas Rampān's song', first published in 1916 that we find the chronicle ('*charitam*', history) revealed as the source of the incidents and dates (Dec. 50, Dec. 51, Sept. 59, April 69, 84 minutes before sunset on 3rd July 72 A.D., etc.) relating to the Apostle. Rampān (= 'monk') had the 1st cent. chronicle before him while composing his song 'of 1601.'

But the existence of the song 'of 1601' before 1892, and of the '*charitam*' of the first century at *any time* during these 1900 years, has not been proved by their Malabar supporters, or by European authors like Bishop Zaleski (1912), Fr. Rocca (1938), Fr. H. Hosten (after his article on Thomas Cana in *Indian Antiquary*, 1927, Vol. LVI, pp. 180—182, with the present writer's objections), Dr. Farquhar (1926-7), and Fr. H. Heras (1944), who unhesitatingly used the song in their works.

We cannot but regard the first century *charitam* and Thomas Rampān's song based on it as spurious, although the song (*wrongly* called '*Thōmmā Parvam*' by some writers) has been given wide publicity through Fr. Rocca's Italian translation (*La Leggenda di S. Tomaso Apostolo*) inserted in *Orientalia Christiana*, Rome, xxxii, No. 89, 1938, pp. 169 ff. In 1912 Bishop Zaleski published extracts from the song under the name *Carmen Thomae Ramban*, but Bishop Medlycott (1905) had ignored it.

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Postscript 1: About Adda of IX ante Dr. W. B. Henning of Cambridge tells me in his notes dated 3rd March, 1948, thus: "The statement, in the *Acta Archelai*, that Adda was Mani's apostle to the East, has been disproved by the discovery of the original Manichæan Missionary History. ——— The suggestion that the original text of the Acts referred to a nation Oritæ ——— is put out of court by reference to the text" in Latin, which was "translated from the Greek text." In both "there is nothing but 'East,' no Oritæ"—Greek "*anatolēs*," Latin "*Orientis*" in the translations above.

If the Syriac original, lost, had Oræ, or some other strange form, the translator finding no such Syriac word, could possibly take it as *ūrīm* (=the east) borrowed from Hebrew, and translate it as above.

Did no Manichæan missionary come to St. Thomas' East, i.e., N. W. India? The Gnostic *Acts of Thomas* is said to have been "used by the Manichæans," says Medlycott (*Thomas*, p. 215, 3). Ammo went towards Balkh.—T.K.J.

Postscript 2: The Latin author of *Itiner. Alex.*, 345 A.D., says: "India taken as a whole ——— is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians." (McCrindle, *Ancient India* ——— *Classical*, 1901, p. 153).—T.K.J.

Postscript 3: Marquart has identified Mazdai with Gōdarz II (A.D. 39-51?), Wizan with Bēshan, and Manashar with Manēshak = Manēsha. See *Bulletin of SOAS*, XII, 1, ante, p. 25, n. 4. All 3 are Parthian names, and not S. India.—T.K.J.

Jainism in the Deccan

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Jainism is not an offshoot of Buddhism. The Jains believe that their religion is eternal and revealed from time to time by prophets or Tirthankaras. The Tirthankara or the arhat is one who has attained omniscience in this world. The first Tirthankara, King Rishabha, is the founder of the Jaina Dharma of the present age. The story of Rishabha occurs in the Bhagawatha Purana, where he is described as an avatara or an incarnation of Vishnu. Rishabha Sumati, Padmaprabha, Suparsva, Chandraprabha, Pushpadanta, Sitala, Sreyamsa, Vasupujya, Vimala, Anantha, Dharma Santhi, Kuntha, Ara, Malli, Munisuvrata, Nami, Nemi, Parswa and Vardhamana Mahavira. Lord Mahavira, the last of the Jain Tirthankaras was an older contemporary of Lord Buddha. His predecessor, Parswanatha was also a historical person who preceded Mahavira by 250 years.

The word Jina means conqueror and refers to one who has conquered the senses, like lust and anger and has attained salvation. The Gods show their appreciation and celebrate his glory by providing the shade of a tree, raining divine flowers, sounding divine music, fanning with chamars, providing a simhasana or lion throne, surrounding his divine body with a halo of light and by creating a triple umbrella, to represent his suzerainty over all the three worlds.

Jainism prescribes three principles known as Ratna Traya or the three jewels of Right belief, Right knowledge and Right conduct, a combination of Bhakti, Jnāna and Karma. The Jain Dharma or path of duty demands the complete elimination of superstition and arrogance. The arrogance of noble birth, the arrogance of superior intellect, the arrogance of physical strength and the arrogance of one's spiritual powers should be completely get rid of. Even an outcaste, if he has right faith, is considered the God of Gods. The greatest contribution of Jainism is its emphasis on the principle of Ahimsa or non-violence to any creature, much less to any human being.

The date of Mahavira is B.C. 599 to 527. There are two main sects among the Jains, the Digambaras, who maintain that absolute nudity is a necessary condition of saintship, and the Svetambaras, who are dressed in white, holding that the use of cloth does not impede the highest sanctity. The Jains worship five kinds of beings as 'representing the ideal in life at different stages of realisation.' They are known as the Pancha Parameshtins—the Siddha Parameshti the highest being who has attained the final stage in liberation, the Arhat Parameshti who reveals for the benefit of the world the path to salvation, the Acharya Parameshti who initiates all those that seek admission into the Jain Dharma, the Upadhyaya Parameshti the teacher and the instructor, and the Sadhu Parameshti with no specific duty but who is an exemplar by his conduct.

The Tirthankaras are followed by a succession of teachers called Ganadharas. Sudharma was the chief disciple of the last Tirthankara, Mahavira. Next to him was Indrabhuti.

The memory of the Tirthankaras was preserved by setting up statues principally in the sacred places associated with their lives. Gradually other gods and goddesses of Brahminical Hinduism were assimilated into the Jain pantheon. Like Mahayana Buddhism, the Svetambaras developed a Tantric system of their own. The distinguishing feature of Jain sculptures are the long arms, hanging stiff with the body, (Kāyotsarga pose), two attendants on either side, (Yaksha and Yakshini), the tree under which the Tirthankaras attained supreme knowledge, a throne seat, trilinear umbrella, aura of a beautiful radiance, drum, showers of celestial blossoms, two chowries and heavenly music. Each Tirthankara is recognisable by a cognizance or *chinha* usually placed below the image. They have also their peculiar complexions or colours. The sign of Rishabha is the bull, of Ajitha, the elephant, of Parswa the hooded snake, and of Mahavira the lion. Jaina images are also represented as seated in the Padmasana pose (Lotus Throne).

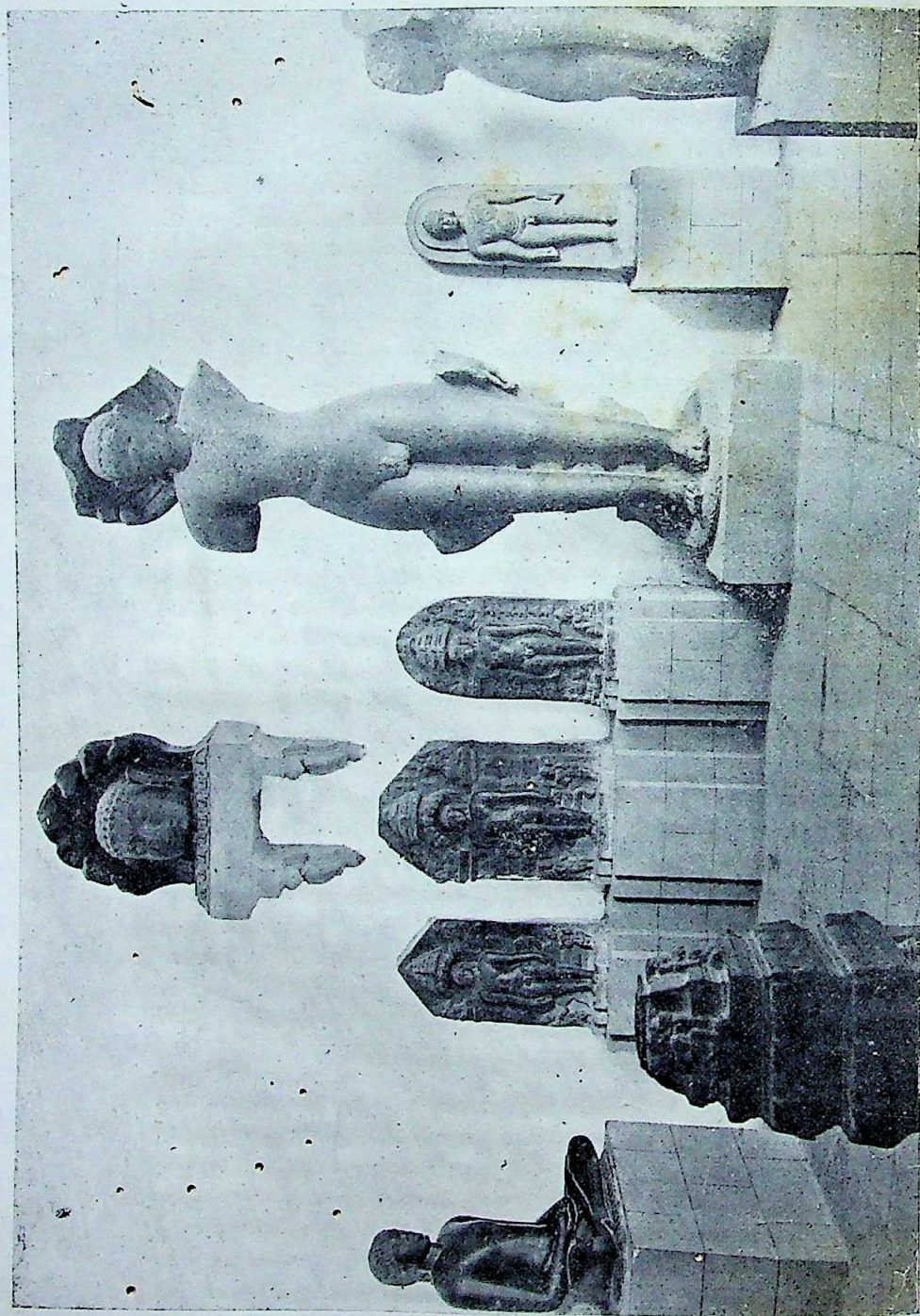
The Hyderabad museum contains a valuable gallery of Jain sculptures, mostly from the Telingana districts of the Dominions. Parswanatha, the predecessor of Mahavira, is represented in different ways in several sculptures. In one of the sculptures in the Kayotsarga pose, there is the seven headed serpent, with only one coil. Another standing sculpture, with the seven headed serpent of 5 coils, has the triple umbrella, like the *Kirita* of a God, above the heads of the serpent. His Yaksha and Yakshini are standing on either side, near his foot. Above his shoulders, on either side,

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Jaina gallery, Hyderabad Museum.

—By the courtesy of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

are standing on two lions, chowri-bearers. Above them are small figures of 4 standing and 5 seated jinas. A third standing sculpture has a five headed serpent of six coils, with an aura or prabha round the head, and two chowris on either side above the shoulders. Above the hooded snake is the trilinear Kirita, with a pointed (kalasa) knot at the top. There is an inscription on the pedestal. The fourth is a seated sculpture in the Padmasana pose, with a single hooded serpent, carved over the head, immediately below the trilinear umbrella, with 2 chouri-bearers on either side, jutting out from two lions.

Mahavira, is represented in a marble sculpture, in the standing pose, surrounded by 23 seated Jinas, all round. (Chaturvimsati-pate). There are two chouri-bearers standing below. Above the shoulders on either side are two riders on 2 elephants and two musicians. The Jina has curly hair and long ear lobes. A second standing Mahavira, surrounded by 2 standing and 21 seated Jinas, with a circular prabha behind the head and a trilinear kirita, with a kalasa at the top, has an indistinct inscription on the pedestal.

There are two seated sculptures of Mahavira from Warangal, of highly polished black basalt, one with a circular prabha, curly hair, long ear lobes and the other, without the aura and without curls in the hair. A rare Jaina sculpture in the Hyderabad gallery is the Jaina quadruple, popularly known as 'Choumukhi'. It is known as one that is auspicious from all sides, 'Sarvatobhadra pratima'. It is an obelisk, representing the figure of a Tirthamkara on each of the four sides. It is about 4 ft. in height. There are 4 small seated Jinas, with a lion, and a Makara Torana surrounding the figures, at the top of the obelisk. Near the wider base of the obelisk, are four more Jina figures, with 2 chouri bearers on either side and a lion throne and the trilinear umbrella.

The most beautiful sculpture in this collection is that of the goddess of learning or Vidya Devi from Mahur, in the Adilabad district. The image is in a standing position and is well ornamented. On the pedestal is an inscription giving the Samvat date 11 ? C (1178 ?) (13th century A.D.) On the pedestal is the swan, holding a garland; on either side of the pedestal are two worshippers, a man and a woman. Above the image, on either side are two seated Parswanathas, with seven-hooded serpents. On the top are 3 standing Jina images. The image has four hands adorned with the book, the rosary, the lute and the goad (or Vajra)—Hamsa Vahana, Chaturbhuj, Pustaka, Akshamala, Veena, Abja (goad). There is a disc or chakra round the head.

Patancheru, 18 miles northwest of Hyderabad was once an important centre of Jain worship. A colossal statue of Parswanath nearly 14 feet high, and the head of a Parswanath are installed in the museum at Hyderabad.

Kulpak or Kollipaka, 45 miles northeast of Hyderabad contains several remains. There is a Jaina temple of the three Tirthankaras—Rishabha, Nemi and Mahavira.

Malkhed, the ancient Manyaketa, the capital of the Rashtrakutas, contains a large collection of Jaina sculptures and bronzes.

The village of Ellora, about 14 miles from Aurangabad contains large cave temples belonging to the Jains. The most striking of them is known as the Indra Sabha. Here is a colossal image of Indra, seated on an elephant. There is a tree behind the head and small figures of attendants by the side. The inside of the hall has several fine pillars.

Indra is a minor divinity. He is one of the Dikpalas or guardians of the quarters. His position is subservient to that of the Tirthankaras.

The town of Kopbal was a celebrated Jain centre from the 7th century A.D. It is identified with Konkinapulo of Yuan Chwang. In the Canarese work, Kaviraja Marga of the 9th century A.D. the place is called Mahakopanagara. In the 10th century A.D. it was the capital of the Silahara chiefs. In the 11th century, a Silahara chief Govanarasa was described as the lord of the city of Kopanapura. In the 12th century, a Jaina general of the Hoysala king built many Jaina temples at the Adi-Tirtha, Kopana. Hulla Senapathi, the chief minister of the Hoysala King Narasimha, son of Vishnuvardhana is said to have granted gold for the benefit of the Chaturvimsati-Jina-Muni Sangha at Kopana. The glory of Sravana-Belagola in the Mysore province, another great Jaina centre of South India, was compared to that of Kopana.

One of the inscriptions at Kopbal mentions Chandrasenadeva as one of the great Jaina teachers of the 13th century. Another dated 881 A.D. refers to the religious preceptor, Sarva Nandindra, belonging to the famous Kundakunda line of preceptors, which was commenced in the 5th century. An epigraph of the western Chalukya king Vikramaditya (A.D. 1009-1017) says that, the teacher Kalyanakirti, also of the Kundakunda line, built the Jinendra Chaitya on the spot where his predecessor Simhanandiyacharya performed austerities and departed this life, and consecrated the image of Saptinatha at Bichchukundi village. In 1521 Kopana was under

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a Nayak, appointed by the Vijayanagar King Krishna Devaraya. Some time after (18th century) the image of Chaya Chandranatha was carved by the orders of Vardhamana Deva. An image of Parswanatha, with 23 Jinas represented in the aureole going round the image was found at Kopbal and is now deposited in the palace of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur at Surur Nagar, Hyderabad. A lay disciple of the royal priest Meghanandi Siddhanta Chakravarthi had the image made and presented to the Basti, belonging to the Desiya gana of the Mula-Sangha. One of the Kopbal Jain sculptures is that of the Pancha Parameshtins, the five Jaina Gurus.

Jainism and Buddhism profoundly influenced the culture of the people and the Bhakti movement of medieval Deccan. The Jain teachers were held in high esteem by the Sultans of Delhi. Simhakirti won renown at the court of Muhammad Bin Tughluk. Visalakirti received reverence from Sikandar Sultan. Vijayasuri, Vijayasena and Jinachandra enjoyed the patronage of Emperor Akbar. Hyder Ali granted villages to Jaina temples. The king of Bijapur was a friend and ally of the Jaina queen Bhairava Devi of Gorsappa.

The Evolution of the Relationship between the Indian States and the East India Company in the 18th Century

BY

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The East India Company's right to wage war, and as a corollary to enter into treaties, alliances and engagements, was conceded in the charter granted to it by Charles II, and the earliest treaty now extant is that in 1723 by the Raja of Travancore and the head of the company's factory at Anjengo, by which the contracting parties agreed to be "in league and united in good friendship."

While these treaties were being concluded, the Company itself was passing through an evolutionary process which can well be called revolutionary. From the position and status of a trading concern it was rapidly transforming itself into one of the most important, if not the most important, territorial and political power in India. The defeat of Siraj-Ud-daula gave the Company *de facto* political status, which was converted into *de jure* status by the grant of Diwani in 1765¹. Through it the Company became one of recognized status in India. This development was powerfully assisted by the reorganization of the internal administration of the Company by the Regulating Act of 1773 and other Parliamentary enactments which followed it.

No less pronounced was the change which came over the Company's power and status in relation to the other Indian States. In the first period it was only a trading company carrying on trade in India through the sufferance of the Indian powers. In the next stage of its growth it became one of these Indian powers, gradually securing a recognition of its equality, which was recognized by Wellesley, but it could not be described as the Paramount Power in India, not even as the *primus inter pares*. But for certain Indian powers and in certain areas the Company was already suzerain. In fact, the Company's political relations with the Indian States at the

1. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties*, Ca 1. 1892, Vol. II, pp. 70, 72.

end of the 18th century were neither uniform nor always consistent. In relation to certain states it exercised *de facto*, if not *de jure* suzerainty.² Oudh was one of them; with others just a suggestion of inequality was creeping in.

In the case of yet others, the company was on a footing of equality, while in respect of the Emperor of Delhi, the Company's status was one of formal inferiority.

The main driving force behind the development of the Company's relations with the Indian states was search for security, both commercial and political. This is truer even of the Subsidiary System which began as a method of defence without expenditure. But this led almost inevitably to the establishment of the paramountcy of the Company over the other Indian powers. The possibility of such an existence of political power was present in the mind of Warren Hastings, who wrote in 1777 to Alexander Elliot :

"You are already well acquainted, however, with the general system which I wish to be empowered to establish in India, namely, to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote from the possessions, without enlarging the circle of their defence or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements, and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as shall due to be enlisted among the friends and allies of kind of Great Britain....."

"On this footing I would replace the subaship of Oude. On this footing, I would establish an alliance with Berar. These countries are of more importance to us than any others from their contiguity to ours, and therefore it is of consequence to settle their connection with us before that of any other. But the same system might be rendered more extensive by time, and the observances of a steady principle of conduct, and an invariable attachment to formal engagements."³

Through a variety of circumstances Warren Hastings could not put his idea fully into operation, but the evolution of the relationship of the Company with the Indian States continued along this line under Cornwallis and even under Sir John Shore. In spite of the policy of non-intervention the latter intervened in Oudh, and made the Nawab-Vizir almost a vassal of the Company. Although

2. Hale, *The Oude Question*, Lond. 1857, p. 21.

3. Letter dtd. Jan. 12 Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921, ed. A. B. Keith, Vol. I, pp. 88-90.

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certain Governor-Generals were more responsible than others for the extension of the Company's power and influence in India, the motive force of the process was supplied more by the nature of the situation than individuals. Even unenterprising Governor-Generals and Governor-Generals who preferred a policy of peace could not, in certain circumstances avoid being committed to wars. The difference which individual personality made was one of degree and not of kind. The result of this long series of burdens is best described in the language of Mr. Mill who speaking of the treaty of 1798 says: "The transaction had one attractive feature, that of gain to the Company; and it received the most cordial approbats of the powers ministerial and directorial at home."⁴

There is only one other point which needs mention here. It has been seen that throughout the 18th century the Company's power and influence was in a state of growth and that its political relations with the Indian States were undergoing rapid changes. The process had not fully unfolded itself by the end of the 18th century, and there was not the slightest reason to assume that the position had become static. The famous clause in the Act of 1784 and 1793 by which it was declared that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation," was not intended as a guarantee of the territorial possessions and political status of the Indian States like that paragraph of the Queen's proclamation by which the Indian princes were reassured about their rights and possessions. It did not concern the Indian States at all, but applied only to the internal constitution and policy of the Company. It conferred no rights on the Indian States, but was meant solely as a check on the Governor-General in the event of his desiring to involve the Company in conquests and the expenses and debts consequent thereupon which the Directors of East India Company feared and disapproved of most. It was really an expression of the Mercantilist attitude towards colonies and overseas possessions.⁵

On the contrary the tendencies inherent in the political traditions, both of India and of Europe, towards the end of the 18th century were such as to warrant the conclusion that the sovereignty of the innumerable States into which the Mughal Empire had disintegrated would not and could not be a permanent feature of the

4. Mill's History of India. Boah, VI, Chap. 7.

5. On this subject another article entitled "Was Wellesley's policy consciously planned" will follow.

political growth of India. From very ancient times the political organization of India has alternated between centralization of power under a great and powerful dynasty and disintegration of the unity of India, as a consequence of which each of the component units claimed to possess full sovereignty. But in neither of these two conditions was there any respect for the sovereignty of the component States. Whenever a state was powerful enough it always claimed and asserted its suzerainty over the others. In fact, in every epoch of Indian history, from the age of the asvamedhas down to Mughal times, search for hegemony has been the permanent and invariable feature of the political evolution of India. A system in which the various component units of India were recognized as full sovereign States, and the various states respected each other's sovereignty was never seen in India. The idea of such a conglomeration of equal and independent states existing in stable equilibrium was totally foreign to the political thought of India. In India the sovereignty of the component states was always uncertain. It was the result of the balance of power between the disruptive and the unifying forces. The emergence of any great military power or conqueror always put an end to it, sometimes wholly, and at times partially.

Nor was there any guarantee of the sovereignty of the component States in the international law of Europe as it had developed to the end of the 18th century. Europe had, of course, proceeded very far in the process by which the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire and of a unified Christendom of the Middle ages had been replaced by the ideal of separate sovereign nations and states constituting only a geographical entity known as Europe. Since the Renaissance, these individual sovereign states and nations had become well-established in Europe. But even then there was no other guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of any state except its own military power, and no respect for it except from consideration of expediency. Thus in the actual practice of international politics in the 18th century, the dominating force was reason of state and the dominating object aggrandizement of each sovereign state. "He who does not gain loses," wrote Catherine II. The idea of the grandeur of the state was intimately connected with the territorial extent of the state. The position was tersely summed up by Montesquieu when he said: "The spirit of the monarchy is war and aggrandizement."⁶

⁶ *The Spirit of laws*, Book IX, Ch. ii.

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The methods of diplomacy were perfectly consistent with this purpose. Force was the principal arbiter between the states and nations as was shown by two typical instances of 18th century politics—the war of Austrian Succession and the Partition of Poland. In this political order the only guarantee for the observance of engagements was the interest and the power of the States. A noted authority on international law of these days, Biefled wrote: "In the matter of politics, one must disabuse oneself of the ideas which common people entertain about justice, equity, moderation, truth and all the other virtues of the nations and their leaders. Finally everything reduces itself to power."

These remarks were not made in denunciation of the spirit of the 18th century but in the course of a matter of fact exposition in a practical hand-book. In greater or lesser degree all European states and all European Statesmen of the 18th century were imbued with this spirit. Of course, new ideas of international justice perpetual peace, and equality among nations had made their appearance, but these ideas had not as yet fundamentally altered the practice of politics.

Thus whether one looks at the matter in the light of the Indian tradition or in that of contemporary European international law, there was no reason to think that the relations between the East India Company and the Indian States, or between the Indian states themselves would remain stationary. They were in a process of ceaseless change. In this process the deciding factor was the relative military and political capacity of the different states.

Rai Durlabh

BY

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA

Rai Durlabh¹ was the son of Raja Jankiram, Chief Minister of Nawab Aliverdi Khan.² His father was entrusted first with the administration of Bihar³ in 1748 by Aliverdi. The former, a trusted friend⁴ of the Nawab repulsed the attempt of Sirajuddaula to seize the governorship of Bihar in 1750.⁵

About Rai Durlabh's family history, we can say this much only that he was a Bengali Kayastha.⁶ He had a son named Raja Rajballabh who held the new office of *Rai Raian* for the first time created in 1772 under the recommendations of the Committee of Circuit.⁷

Rai Durlabh was among the most loyal and faithful servants of Aliverdi Khan. It was only a batch⁸ of able Hindu officers including Rai Durlabh that contributed largely to the success of Nawab's government. Aliverdi recognised Rai Durlabh's abilities in his (Rai Durlabh's) early years. He was appointed the *peshkar* of the Deputy Governor of Orissa in 1741.⁹ And when Abdul Nabi Khan replaced the previous Deputy Governor of Orissa in 1743, the services of Rai Durlabhram were continued.¹⁰ As Abdul Nabi Khan, being a rough soldier, understood very little of administration, Rai Durlabh was asked to attend to all the business of the Orissa Government under the title of his *Pishcar*.¹¹

1. Durlabhram and Rai Durlabh are the same person, '...ram' being the suffix; just like his father, 'Janki-ram'.

2. Ghulam Hussain: *Seir Mutagherin*, Cal. Ed., Vol. I, p. 406.

3. K. K. Datta: *Alivardi And His Times*, 1939, p. 141.

4. *Seir*: supra, Vol. II, p. 509.

5. Datta: supra, p. 112.

6. Datta says that Jankiram, Rai Durlabh's father was closely related to Chintaman Das, a Bengali Kayastha. *Ibid.* p. 55 f.n.

7. *Cambridge History of India*, 1929, Vol. V. p. 416.

8. Prominent Hindu Officers were: Biru Datta, Darnarain, Durlabhram, Gokulchand, Jankiram, Kyretchand, Ramnarain, Ramram Singh, Umid Ray. *Seir*: supra, Vol. II. p. 833.

9. Datta: supra, p. 54.

10. *Ibid.* p. 79.

11. *Seir*: supra, Vol. I. p. 406.

During his *peshkarship*, Durlabhram was captured by the Marathas. In the first Maratha invasion of 1742, Bhaskar Ram, the Prime Minister of Raghuji Bhonsle, overpowered Shaikh Masum Khan, the then Deputy Governor of Orissa and made his *peshkar*, Rai Durlabhram a captive.¹² Probably, Rai Durlabh escaped somehow from the captivity and joined Nawab Aliverdi at Murshidabad, in defending the city against the forces of Bhaskar Ram, who were marching in right earnest towards it after ravaging Orissa. When the Marathas plundered Murshidabad in 1742, they again captured Rai Durlabhram along with Murad Ali Khan, a son-in-law of Sarfaz Khan and Mir Shujauddin, Superintendent of the 'Bajutarah (Pachotrā) Sair' duties (customs).¹³

In 1745 Mustafa Khan, one of Aliverdi's generals rebelled and invited Raghuji to invade Bengal again. Abdul Rasul Khan,¹⁴ who had succeeded Abdul Nabi Khan as Deputy Governor of Orissa, also joined Mustafa in raising the standard of rebellion.¹⁵ Nawab Aliverdi, learning the news, at once sent 'the Patent and Insignia of Governor' to 'Durlabhram, son of Raja Jankiram'.¹⁶ The new Governor was unfit for such an office. 'Scrupulously attached to his religious practices, he was much addicted to the company of Brahmans and Sanyasees or Gentoo Fakys, who entirely governed him; whereas he seemed averse to the company of his military officers, most of whom were Mussalmen; and it is observable that most of those sanyasees were Ragho-dji-bhoslah's spies, who thereby receiving frequent intelligence of Durlabhram's contemptible conduct, and of the weakness of his Government, erected his scheme upon that knowledge.'¹⁷

12. Muzaffarnamah of Karam Ali... Copy of the MSS. in Oriental Public Library, Patna (O.P.L.), MS. No. 609, f. 41A.

13. Datta: *supra*, p. 67.

14. The author (Ghulam Hussain Salim) of *Riyas-us-salatan* (English Translation published by Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) on p. 346 states wrongly that 'Deputy Governorship of Orissa was conferred upon Abdul Rasul Khan a nephew of Mustafa Khan, after Shaikh Masum Khan. Abdul Rasul Khan was a son of Abdul Nabi Khan and later on succeeded his father as Deputy Governor of Orissa after his death. See *Seir*: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 534.

15. Datta: *supra*, p. 94.

16. *Seir*: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 2. It seems that the distinction between a Governor and Deputy Governor did not exist in those days as clearly as we have in later times. The same man was styled in a particular year as Governor and Deputy Governor in the next year. This confusion was bound to happen.

17. *Ibid.*

Ghulam Husain continues the amazing narrative. The Maratha Prince, Raghuji, marched towards Orissa (as invited by Mustafa Khan), 'whilst Durlabhram meanly busy with his sanyasees on the shore of the river was kept in so gross an ignorance, that the enemy was so close upon him, before he had suspected anything of the matter.....Being arrived at Dulobram's door, he (one of Rai Durlabh's faithful generals) found that he was asleep yet and knew nothing of the Mahrattas; and a full hour more was spent in waiting for his rising. It was then (a general uproar in the city of Catec), and not sooner that Dulobram being awakened, came out half naked and without a turban.'¹⁸

Bewildered at the sudden approach of the enemy, he first shut himself up in the fort of Barābati for about a fortnight. After this period, he once visited Raghuji in his camp where he and his followers were taken prisoners. He was taken to Nagpur where in September 1746, he approached Visaāji Vikāji to persuade the Peshwa to mediate for his release.¹⁹ Meanwhile his father, Jankiram, ransomed him in December of the same year by paying three lakhs of rupees to Raghuji.²⁰

But when Aliverdi Khan recovered Orissa in May, 1749, he asked Rai Durlabh to become the Deputy Governor again. But he refused to hold any post in Orissa under the apprehension of a report that 7,000 or 8,000 Marathas,²¹ who had concealed themselves in the neighbouring jungles, would return after Aliverdi's departure.²² The Nawab had to appoint another man in that place.

In 1750, Aliverdi fell ill. The Marathas took advantage of his illness at old age. And they fell upon Midnapore, which could not be protected because of the sheer tactlessness and cowardice of Nawab's two generals Durlabhram and Mir Jafar.²³ After his recovery from illness, Aliverdi transferred Durlabhram to another department. Here due to the influence of his father, Jankiram, Durlabhram was engaged as deputy *Dewan* of the military depart-

18. Seir: supra, p. 3.

19. G. S. Sardesai and others: Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 20, letter No. 37.

20. Ibid. letter No. 46; also Seir: supra, Vol. II. p. 547.

21. Yusuf Ali Khan: Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal's Collection MS. f. 97.

22. Ibid. f. 97; Muzaffarnamah; supra, f. 55B etc.; Seir: supra, Vol. II. p. 579.

23. Datta: supra, p. 113.

ment of the Nawab's government.²⁴ When in 1752, Ramnarain took over as Deputy Governor of Bihar, Durlabhram was elevated to the office of *Dewan* of that very department in which he was deputy and was appointed also as *vakil* of Ramnarain at the Murshidabad Court.²⁵

In Bengal, Sirajuddaula soon succeeded his grandfather, Aliverdi. Rai Durlabh like other officers of Aliverdi was won over by presents by the new Nawab.²⁶ After this, Sirajuddaula ordered Rai Durlabh to seize the fort of Murshidabad, which he complied with immediately.²⁷

At the Nawab's court, through the advice of Rai Durlabhram and Mohanlal, the French had recourse to Sirajuddaula in important affairs.²⁸ M. Law, the Chief of Cossimbazar, writes: 'Rai Durlabhram, the other *Diwan* of the Nawab, was the man to whom I was bound to trust most.'²⁹ But he could not keep his balance in favour of the French when he had to side with the latter against the English. He is said to have beaten them.³⁰ But since he shared the defeat at Chitpur, he never thought of fighting with the English again.³¹ And after this affair, he feared nothing so much as to have to fight the English. This fear disposed him to gradually come to terms with the Seths, of whose greatness he was very jealous.³² And this also induced him not to speak boldly on behalf of the French at the court. 'The fear of the compromising himself made him decide to remain neutral for the present, though firmly resolved to join finally the side which appeared to him to be the strongest.'³³

And the consequence was that Rai Durlabh was afraid to assist the French in the siege of Chandernagore.³⁴ When the French asked for reinforcements from Nawab Sirajuddaula in the siege, (Law writes—) 'his forces were ready to start, the soldiers have been paid, the commandant³⁵ waited only for final orders. I went

24. Ibid. p. 165.

25. Seir: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 593.

26. S. C. Hill: Bengal in 1756-57. p. xxx.

27. Ibid. p. lviii.

28. S. C. Hill: Three Frenchmen in Bengal 1903, p. 68.

29. Ibid. p. 88.

30. Ibid. ; Hill: Bengal, *supra*, p. clxiv.

31. Ibid. (Bengal) p. clxiv.

32. Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., *supra*, p. 88.

33. Ibid.

34. Hill: Bengal, *supra*, pp. clxxxiii, cxci, cxcii.

35. 'This (commandant) was the boaster Rai Durlabh Ram, who had already received much from me, but all the treasures of the Universe could

to see him (i.e. commandant) and promised him a large sum if he succeeded in raising the siege of Chandernagore. I also visited several of the chief officers, to whom I promised rewards proportionate to their rank. I represented to the Nawab that Chandernagore must be certainly captured if the reinforcements did not set out at once and I tried to persuade him to give his orders to the Commandant in my presence. And intelligence arrived that the Chandernagore Fort³⁶ was now holding out,³⁷ and Rai Durlabh was ordered to advance, but he never got further than five leagues from Murshidabad. Again there came a false report that the Fort had fallen, Law knew that Rai Durlabh was a coward, and his whole reliance was on Mir Madan,³⁸ 'a capable officer and one who would have attacked the enemy with pleasure,' to whom Law appealed to advance his forces.

Rai Durlabh's advance to Chandernagore was also checked when he received an open injunction from Clive. 'I hear you are arrived within 20 miles of Hughly. Whether you come as a friend or an enemy, I know not. If as the latter, say at once, and I will send some people out to fight you immediately. . . . Now you know my mind.' Nand Kumar, the Faujdar of Hughly passed the information of the capture of Chandernagore to Rai Durlabh and the Nawab with the malicious addition that if the Fort (of Chandernagore), if it had not already fallen, would fall before Rai Durlabh could reach it. This put an end to all chance of the Nawab interfering.⁴⁰

Sirajuddaula and Rai Durlabh had no cordial relations from the very beginning. Sirajuddaula detested Rai Durlabh (though he bribed him on his accession liberally), while the latter thought the Nawab encroaching upon the freedom which he enjoyed under his predecessor. The Nawab ill-used Raja Durlabhram also as well

not have freed him from the fear he felt at having to fight the English. He had with him as his second in command a good officer, Mir Madan, the only man I counted upon' (Law). See Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, p. 90. 3d.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. p. 94.

38. This Mir Madan is said to have been a Hindu convert to Muhammadanism. Native poems still tell of the gallantry with which he commanded the Hindu soldiers of the Nawab. He was one of the first to fall at Plassey, and though it cannot be said that his death caused the loss of the battle, it is certain that it put an end to all chance of the victory being consented. Ibid. p. 95.

39. Orme MSS, India XI, p. 2750, No. 83.

40. Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, p. 39.

as many others, all commanders of character, all deserving the utmost regard, and all thoroughly estranged from him by his harsh language.⁴¹ 'He (Rai Durlabh too) hated the Nawab, by whom he has been ill-used on many occasions.'⁴²

Rai Durlabh and Mir Jafar, both had become indifferent to the Nawab. The latter's pride and vanity as well as his natural perverseness and ignorance, instead of recovering their hearts, tended to matters worse confounded. 'Nor did he feel in himself vigour enough to seize their persons by open force, and to exile them from the regions of life and existence; nor was there any one amongst those new Ministers, favourites and Generals of his (everyone of whom was incapable and as thoughtless as himself) that had courage enough to acknowledge his own unfitness for such important concerns, and to advise his master to alter his system of conduct; and instead of consuming himself with cares, anxieties, Ministers and Generals formed by Aaly-Verdy-qhan, to gain their hearts by a condescending behaviour, and to entrust them with the management of his affairs.... They ought to have said with a common voice: "My Lord, to complete our wishes, and to fill the measure of our ambition, is an easy matter. Whenever you are yourself powerful, and honoured, some beams of your own glory shall surely be reflected on our own persons; but now think only of putting at the head of your affairs those old Generals and Ministers that have already a character"''.⁴³ But he ordered cannon to be planted against Mir Jafar's house. Raja Durlabhram was no less dissatisfied and difficult to manage; he would not hear of submitting to Mohanlal's superiority.⁴⁴ And it is undeniable that Mohanlal's death was caused at the instance of Rai Durlabh⁴⁵ as a consequence of the above. Probably Mirza Mehdy's (younger brother of Sirajuddaula) murder too had much to do with the dissension between the Nawab and Rai Durlabh.⁴⁶

And the hatred turned into a conspiracy with the English to overthrow the Nawab. 'A formidable Confederacy was formed against him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of

41. Seir: supra, p. 193.

42. Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., p. 88.

43. Seir: supra, p. 224.

44. 'Mohan Lall, Chief Dewan of Siraj-ud-daula' was the man 'who had his confidence and was capable by his own firmness of fixing the irresolution of the Prince'. See Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., supra, p. 87.

45. Seir: supra, p. 240, also f.n. No. 127, p. 240.

46. Ibid. p. 252.

finance, Meer Jaffer, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India.⁴⁷

But these intrigues of Rai Durlabh were only at the last stage of his disgust with the Nawab. Prior to that, he showed signs of loyalty to the Nawab. In a letter to the Nawab regarding the trade abuses of a *gumasta* in Sylhet, he says: '....but now Mr.....and Chundermun and Coja Muscat English *Gomasthas* having brought a large quality of salt into the aforesaid Chukla, oblige my *Gomasthas* by force and oppression to purchase it at an exorbitant price; and having by violent means taken the butty wood trade into their own hands, they have put a stop to my business, whereby I suffer a great loss: yet the Fougedar has oppressively exacted from me the usual rents from my home and *Gomasthas* by reason of the oppressions of the English *Gomasthas* and the rigour and the violence with which the Malguzaree is exacted, have taken to flight.'⁴⁸ But such conduct of his changed soon with the behaviour of the Nawab.

Clive got a chance and began to intrigue with Rai Durlabh and his party. He threatened the Nawab that he would submit their disputes (between the English and the Nawab) to the arbitration of Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh and Jagat Seth and others who were totally against Sirajuddaula and who were sure to give the decision in favour of the English.⁴⁹

And as soon as the Nawab heard of the treaty with Mir Jafar, he knew what was inevitable and it had come at a moment when he had disbanded half of his army unpaid and the other half was grumbling for arrears.⁵⁰ He now thought of begging the two—Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh—to be reconciled, but neither of these could do so.

'Everything was now in a fairway; the Placis army broken up and put into quarters, and Meer Jaffer, after having consulted with Roydullub, concluded the....treaty with Mr. Watts'.⁵¹ Mir Jafar

47. Macaulay's Lord Clive: Smith Ed. p. 45.

48. Translation of a letter from Durlabhram to the Nawab. Original Papers Relating To The Disturbances In Bengal From 1759—63, Vol. I. 1765, p. 203.

49. Sraffton: Reflections, p. 88.

50. Hill: Three Frenchmen etc., p. 107.

51. 'The original was supposed to have been subsequently destroyed by Colonel Clive for his own protection when he was accused of having forged Admiral Watson's name.' See Indian Records, 1870, p. 6—8.

was the Nawab after the battle of Plassey. Rai Durlabh was made his First Minister and the centre of all transactions.⁵² But the relations between the two rather became hostile in later years.⁵³ Rai Durlabh refused to accompany Mir Jafar in his Bihar campaign as he was afraid to trust himself to the Nawab's camp.⁵⁴ He was charged by Mir Jafar, the new Nawab, to have incited Ogulsing to rebellion in Purnea.⁵⁵ It is alleged that Durlabhram was obsessed with a feeling of jealousy that his own colleague in the conspiracy of the great Revolution of 1756-57 has now become the Nawab. 'No wonder then he should now prove too high-minded to bear Mir-djafer-qhan's assumed superiority, and too incensed, to submit to his sway'.⁵⁶

The Company throughout protected Rai Durlabh's life from the coercing attitude of Mir Jafar. Miran's (Mir Jafar's brother's) attack on Rai Durlabh was repulsed by the Resident of Calcutta.⁵⁷

During the reign of the next Nawab, Mir Kasim, we find this intriguing⁵⁸ Rai Durlabh again approving the activities of the English to overthrow the rule of Mir Kasim.⁵⁹ After this event, there is no trace of Rai Durlabh.

On the whole, Rai Durlabh was a man of character in his early years. But afterwards he proved to be a disloyal servant to the Nawab of Bengal due to rich and lavish gifts of the English. But one thing: he is a figure, very conspicuous, although not known so, in the political history of Bengal in the forties, fifties and the sixties of the eighteenth century.

52. Seir : *supra*, p. 237.

53. K. P. Datta : *History Of The Bengal Subah*, Vol. I. 1936, p. 102.

54. *Camb. Hist.* : *supra*, p. 152.

55. B. D. Basu : *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, 1931, p. 104.

56. Seir : *supra*, p. 252.

57. *Camb. Hist.* : *supra*, p. 153

58. He had a habit of intrigue. In the first Revolution, he intrigued with Omi Chand. See Hill : *Bengal*, *supra*, pp. clxxxiii, cxoi, excii.

59. Basu : *supra*, p. 421.

A Treaty Proposed by Sikh Leaders to Maharaja Bijayasingh of Jodhpur

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH RUE

Jodhpur

Maharaja Bijayasingh of Marwar ascended the throne of Jodhpur in 1752 A.D. In 1779 A.D. he helped Maharaja Pratapsingh of Jaipur against Sindhia, who came to install Rajkumar Mansingh on the throne of Jaipur. In this battle, Madhoji Sindhia was defeated at the village of Tunga and the Maharaja took possession of Ajmer.

As there existed a treaty between Maharaja Pratapsinghji of Jaipur and the Khalsaji (Sikh leaders), Khalsaji proposed a similar treaty for the approval of Maharaja Bijayasinghji of Jodhpur. But whether it was ratified by the Maharaja or not is not known.

Treaty

That as there exists acknowledged friendship and concord between the Khalsaji and Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajendra Shri Maharaja Savai Partap Singhji, in the same manner there exists hearty harmony with Maharajadhiraj. And their friends and foes are common to both. And whatever new territories are captured in collaboration with the Sarbat Khalsaji, the share of Sri Satguruji shall be taken after deducting the expenses of the armies of each party. The Rakhi (protection tribute) in the new territories shall be of the Khalsaji. And between both the Maharaja and the Khalsaji there is no discord whatsoever. In this the great Satguru and the Mighty Sword are in between. There shall be no disagreement from any side. And if the enemies of the Maharaja create disturbances, Khalsaji shall join him, and, with an army of two thousand horse of their own, without any remuneration and living upon their own resources, they shall stand by him. And, after the completion of the work, whatever is gladly offered shall be accepted. The pay of the extra army from three thousand to fifty thousand shall be charged at the rate of eight annas per horse. The friends and foes and honour of the two shall be common.

These few words are written by way of an agreement and a treaty to serve as a document for the present.

Written on the 27th of Shauval (Shravan vadi 13, 1845) Vikrami= (31st July 1788 A.D.).

The document bears the seals of the following 10 Sikh leaders in two rows along with the words

"Akal Sahaya" above the names:—

First row:—(1) Baghelsingh, (2) Ramsingh, (3) Raja Divansingh, (4) Raisingh, (5) Gurudattsingh.

Second row:—(6) Naharsingh, (7) —singh, (8) Khushalsingh, (9) (10) Tarasingh.

The document also has a mark of the sword in saffron colour on its top.

The Substance of Ramanuja's Sri Bhāshyam

(Continued from page 341 of Part 3, Vol. XXV)

BY

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VI

The opening Sutra was interpreted as meaning that the consideration of the nature of the Brahman must follow that of karma. Now, the second (Janmādyasya yatah) reveals the distinguishing characteristic (lakshana) of that Brahman, who is the subject matter of the study. Before we can claim to have definite knowledge of anything we must be able clearly to distinguish it from other things. We must know it through its lakshana. What distinguishes the Brahman from everything else is called the Brahma-lakshana. To create, dissolve, govern and the entire Jagat is the peculiar prerogative of the Parabrahman, says Vyāsa in "Janmādyasya yatah". The Upanishad itself expresses this fact in the vākya, "Yatova imāni bhūtāni jāyante, ena jātāni jivanti, yatpranyatyabhisamviśanti, tadvijijnāsasva tadbrahmeti". "He from whom all the jagat has taken its birth, by whom it is sustained,¹ in whom everything lies dissolved at the time of Pralaya, and to attain whom in Moksha everything proceeds,—who is short is the cause of the beginning, being and end of all—know such to be the Brahman." Functioning as the cause of universal creation is, therefore, an attribute of the Brahman, which again means that the Brahman is savishesha.

The next sutra is "Śāstra yonitvāt", and it expresses that we know of the Brahman through the Pramāna of the śāstras. The śrutis are the means by which we get to know of the Brahman. But the Śrutis do not reveal that which can be known through other pramānas, nor do they contradict the others. Is the Brahman such as could not be known by pramānas other than the Vedas? That is not so, argues the Naiyāyika, who proceeds to show that by mere inference (anumāna) we may know of the Brahman. Anything

1. Taittiriyaopaniṣad.

that is composed of parts (avayavas) must be of the nature of a product. A product implies a producer, an agent, who functions as its cause (karta). This world of experience is composed of many parts. It is of the nature of a product (or effect), a created thing. When we consider its vastness and the wonderful variety of objects in it, we realise not only that it must have a cause but that the cause must be one of infinite wisdom (sarvajna) and infinite power (sarvaśakta). The karta, whose existence is thus inferred is no less than the *Īśvara*. Has not *Anumāna* (inference) then led us to the existence of the Brahman? *Vyāsa's* answer to this objection is contained in the sutra, "*Śāstra yonitvāt*." True, *Anumāna* establishes that the jagat must have a cause, that there must be a karta (or creator) responsible for its existence. But it is not *Anumāna* that can adequately show that the karta is no less than the Supreme *Īśvara*, with infinite wisdom and infinite power. It could very well have been created by one like the sage *Viśvāmitra*, who having acquired wonderful powers through great penance could claim with confidence, "*Anyam indram karishyāmi*" ("I shall bring into being another Indra"). And did he not create another world of surpassing wonder? Then, if we rely on *Anumāna* alone and infer that the vastness and wonder of this world must imply a creator of great wisdom and power, *Viśvāmitra* could well have been the Creator. That the creator of this jagat is no other than the *Paramātman*, who is *Sarvajna* and *Sarvaśakta*, cannot be established by *Anumāna pramāna*. The Vedas alone reveal this fact. Hence in order to know of the Parabrahman the *Śrutis* are the only *pramānas*. The sutra tells us that we know of the Brahman through the *Śrutis*. The attribute of being revealed through the *Śrutis* belongs to the Brahman, and the Brahman is, again from this point of view, *Saviśesha*.

"*Tattu Samanvayāt*" is the fourth Sutra. It contains the answer to the *Purva Mimāṃsakas*, who hold that the *Vedānta Vākyas* cannot be the *pramānas* that reveal the Parabrahman. The previous sutra was in answer to the *Naiyāyikas*, who maintained the same position from a different angle. Now the *Purva Mimāṃsaka* argues as follows:—*Vākyas* like "*Sadeva Somyedam agra āśēet*,"² "*Satyam jñānam anantam Brahmā*"³ cannot convey knowledge about the Parabrahman. Only those *vākyas*, that indicate certain injunctions and prohibitions (*pravritti* and *nivritti*), together with the acts that form the object of the injunc-

2. *Chāndogya Upanishad*, 6.

3. *Taittiriya Upanishad*.

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tions and prohibitions and their resultant fruit, would convey real knowledge, for right knowledge ought to be useful in the attainment of a result. "Yajeta Svarga kāmah," "Nakalanjam bhakshayet"—these mean "perform sacrifice in order to attain Svarga," "do not eat forbidden things," and they lead to definite results, such as the attainment of heaven or the avoidance of hell. The vākyas quoted from the Vedānta do not show the way to such fruits as these do, and are, therefore, valueless.

Vyāsa's reply to the argument has been expressed by Rāmanuja as follows:—It cannot be maintained that vākyas like "Satyam jñānam anantam" do not lead to the attainment of a fruit. Happiness, in some form or other, is the goal of all human endeavour, the primary object of all human effort. Now, the Parabrahman, is itself the highest form of happiness and bliss. (Ānanda swarūpa) and the Vedānta vākyas that describe it do themselves give us a taste of the blissful experience. A vākyam like "Yajeta svarga kāmah" leads to the attainment of a fruit gradually and through a sequence of causes and effects, while one like "Satyam jñānam anantam Brahma" reveals the blissful Brahman directly, and gives us a glimpse of the experience by itself. To say that what indirectly and through several stages reveals the goal is capable of conveying useful and real knowledge, while that which directly furnishes experience of the fruit is useless cannot stand to reason. But, it may be asked, if the Upanishad vākyas do themselves directly produce the experience of the Ānandarūpa Brahman, where is the necessity for such sādhanas as Bhakti, that are said to be the means for the attainment of the highest experience? The experience of the divine bliss arising from Vedānta vākyas is śābda bodha; ~~it is of the form that results from hearsay.~~ The very words that describe the Parabrahman and its excellences are a source of joy. Their potency is so great that they stir us deeply and lift us to the heights of ecstasy. They give but a sample of the delight that is divine, a foretaste of what is in store, but even such an experience is sought after as a precious object. Having heard of the Brahman and its infinite excellences, and tasted the divine joy through the spoken word, one would yearn for a fuller and more intimate experience, to attain which Bhakti and such other sādhanas are adopted as the means.

In the sutra "Tattu Samanvayāt," there are three distinct words, tat, tu, and samanvayāt. "Tu" tells us that the doubt raised by the Mimāṃsaka is baseless. It is an expression which conveys the force of reassurance against possible objections. "Tat" here refers to the immediately preceding sutra and implies

"Śāstrayonitvam" or the characteristic of being rooted in the śāstras (and consequently being revealed through them). It means "that the Parabrahman is revealed through the Śāstras is a fact." It is reiteration of the significance of the previous sutra, but the grounds on which the assertion stands here are different. "Samanvayāt" express the reason that is adduced in this sutra to show that the Parabrahman is known through the śāstras. (Samyak, anvayah—Samanvayah; tasmāt, samanvayāt). "On account of the relation between the Vedānta vākya and the Parabrahman, which is bliss-incarnate" we say that the Parabrahman is known through the Śāstras. The relation is bodha-katvam, that is to say it is the Brahman that is being spoken of or revealed by the vākya, while it is the vākya that speaks of or reveals the Brahman. The one reveals, and the other is that which is revealed. This is how the vākya and the Parabrahman, to whom the vākya refers, are related. What the sutra, therefore, says in effect is that Vedānta vākyas directly give us the experience of the Ānandarōpa Parabrahman, and thereby reveal the nature of the Brahman.

In revealing the Parabrahman the Upanishads show it to be the cause of the jagat. The Vyāsa sutras that express this Upanishadic idea fall under two heads. From the sutra "Ikshatēnā śabdām" to the end of the sutra which says "Jīva mukhya prāṇa līṅgān etc." Vyāsa shows that in the light of certain Upanishad vākyas the attribute of being the cause of the jagat (or Jagat-kāranatvam) necessarily belongs to the Brahman, and then beginning with "Sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt" and going up to "Ētēna sarvā vyākhyātā vyākhyātāḥ" he shows on a similar Upanishadic basis that the attribute of jagatkāranatvam does not vest in anything other than the Parabrahman. The first set of sutras show that the attribute really belongs to be Parabrahman, while the second proves that it exclusively belongs to it. The emphasis in the two sets varies, but their significance is one-pointed.

In "Ikshatēnā śabdām" is contained the reply to the objections from the Sāṅkhya school, which takes its stand on the position that a cause and its effect must be substantially identical. There must be an underlying identity between the Upādāna and the Upādeya, such as there is between a clod of clay and a finished pot. The substance of clay is the substance of the pot. If, therefore, we say that the Brahman is the Upādāna Kāraṇa or the material cause of the Jagat, there must be such a substantial identity between the two. But what do we actually find? The Brahman and the Jagat are so different from each other—the

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Parabrahman being Sarvajna and Sarvaśakta and the Jagat being composed of nonsentient and sentient things, that have only limited powers of understanding and thought—that they cannot be taken to stand related as cause and effect. The Vākyas that speak of the Cause of the Jagat cannot refer to the Brahman. They refer only to that which Sāṅkhya calls "Prakriti." Prakriti is original matter, and the Sāṅkhyan contention is that out of this original matter has evolved the Jagat. Prakriti is the basic stuff out of which the Jagat has evolved, and can therefore be rightly regarded as its Upādāna Kāraṇa.

Rāmānuja expresses what he considers to be Vyāsa's reply to the Sāṅkhyan objection in his commentary on the Sūtras contained in the "Ikṣhatyadhikaranam." If we refer to the Upanishads relating to this question we find there that, having revealed that which is the cause of the whole jagat, they state that the jagat-kāraṇa (the cause of the jagat) *resolved* upon creation and expressed its resolution in the form, "I shall become the manifold jagat." The expression "Tadaikshata" clearly brings out this fact. To resolve upon a course of action or to carry out the resolution is a mark not of Prakriti or matter, which is non-sentient, but of that which is sentient and intelligent. Prakriti cannot be the original cause of the jagat, in as much as it lacks the quality of forming or carrying out a resolution of its own. The original cause of the jagat must, therefore, be different from Prakriti.

It may here be contended that the Vākyam "Tadaikshata" does not imply that the original cause literally resolved upon creation, and that the expression "Sankalpa" used in relation to the cause is just a metaphorical expression. We say, for instance that the crops in the fields are athirst and eagerly *await* the rains," but do we literally mean that the capacity for eager expectation, which is a distinct mark of sentience, is in the crops? No; the use of such words in the context merely reveals an attempt at vivid expression. That the original cause resolved upon self-manifestation must, therefore, be understood in a metaphorical sense. It means no more than that the original Prakriti was in a state of readiness for such manifestation.

Rāmānuja's answer to this line of objection is that the cause of the jagat is further described as the Ātman. "Sa ātmā," says the vākyam. The same section also contains the declaration that he, who meditates on the original cause of the jagat, the Ātman, who is also the Soul of his soul, has to wait for his Moksha until such time as his body lasts. (Tasya tāvadevaḥīram). These

vākyas clearly prove that the original cause of the jagat is not only different from Prakriti but that its resolve (Sankalpa) must be understood literally and not metaphorically. If the cause were none other than Prakriti, what is the value of the injunction that we ought to meditate on that which is the cause? Prakriti is just matter, which is not even sentient. It is of a much lower order than the Parabrahman, who is—Sarvajna, Sarvaśakta etc., and there is no point in the suggestion that one ought to meditate on what is but of subordinate importance in the total scheme of the universe. Even Sāṅkhya does not assert that meditation on Prakriti could bring about Moksha. It is again in this section that we are told of that basic knowledge which means and comprehends knowledge of the whole jagat. If Prakriti were the cause of the jagat, how could it be maintained that by knowing the one (Prakriti) we know all including the sentient things? How could the part contain or cause the whole? The cause of the jagat, which is made up of both sentient and non-sentient things, cannot be Prakriti, which is only non-sentient. Only if we admit that the Brahman is the cause of the jagat can we maintain that by knowing the one we know all.

In other Upanishads as well it is clearly stated that the whole jagat originates from the Ātman. "Ātmana ākāśassambhūta" etc. We should read the different Upanishadic statements in a consistent manner, for they all lead up to the same truths and there can be no real divergence between one set of Upanishads and another. In the particular section of the Upanishads under consideration the vākyas clearly express that it is from the Ātman that everything has issued.

For these reasons it must be maintained that in "Tadaikshata" the expression "Aikshata" is not merely metaphorical but refers literally to the act of resolution. That which resolves upon creation is Parabrahman and not Prakriti. The essential thought of this adhikarāṇa or section in the Brahma Sūtras is that the cause of the jagat is different from any non-sentient thing, for it must have the ability to resolve upon creation.

The next sūtra, "Ānanda mayobhyāsāt" and the following ones in this adhikarāṇa are based on certain vākyas in the section known as Ānanda Valli of the Taittirīyopaniṣad, and establish that the cause of the jagat is different from the jīvātman. The

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Upanishadic section first describes the nature of the Brahman (tattvam), and in so doing states that the Parabrahman, unlike the sentient and non-sentient things, never undergoes any real change in its substance or nature, that it always shines in the undimmed brilliance of the highest jñāna, and that being present in all places and at all times, it has all the sentient and non-sentient things as its śareera, in a manner which admits of no rival comparison. (Satyam-Jñānam-Anantam Brahma).⁵ Then the section speaks of meditation on such a Parabrahman and unswerving bhakti as the means (hitam) leading to the Highest. He who enters on the path of Bhakti reaches the highest state, the Paramapada, through divine grace and there enjoys the infinite excellences of the Parabrahman. This is the fruit attained, the highest aspiration realised (Purushārtha). Having thus revealed the tattva, hita and purushārtha, the Upanishads proceed to state that from the Parabrahman have issued Ākāśa and other elements, whose origin and cause it is. In order to enable us to know the Brahman clearly and definitely the Upanishad vākyas lead us step by step through statements describing the Brahman as Annam, Prānam etc., and finally it is referred to as Ānandam or bliss; and here we read the vākyam "Tasmadvā etasmāt vijnāna mayāt anyontara ātmānanda mayah."⁶ In interpreting this vākyam the Sāṅkhya contends that the expression "Ānanda mayah" refers to the jivātman. He adduces several reasons to support his contention; (1) If, as it was argued in the last adhikarana, Prakriti or Matter could not be the original cause of the jagat, owing to its inability to resolve upon creation, the jivātman being fundamentally different from Prakriti could very well possess the capacity to will the creation of the jagat and therefore be its cause. (2) There is no real difference between the jiva and the Brahman, for is not their identity clearly expressed in "Tat tvam asi"? (3) In this Upanishadic section there is a distinct reference to the Brahman's association with Śareera or body, and association with body can happen only to the jiva. (4) The expression "Ānanda mayah" means "Ānandapraçurah" and indicates the preponderance of Ānandam, (rather than its absolute purity) which provides room for a little admixture of unhappiness as well. Such an admixture is what may be found in the jiva and not in the Brahman.

5. Taittiriyaopaniṣad.

6. Taittiriyaopaniṣad.

These and such other arguments constitute the basis for the Sāṅkhyan contention that it is the Jivātman that is referred to as Ānandamayah, but they may all be easily answered. (1) Although the capacity to will or resolve may ordinarily belong as an (attribute) to the Jiva, "tadaikshata" implies the specific resolve to *Create the entire Jagat*, and the Jiva is too limited an entity to be capable of such a mighty resolve. (2) That it is not the absolute identity of the Brahman and the Jiva that the "Tattvamasi" expresses has already been shown. (3) The Paramātman does possess a śāreera or body, but His association with the body is not as a result of karma in the form of merit or demerit (punya or pāpa). The Śāstras reveal that the whole jagat is His Śāreera. The four adhyāyas or chapters of the Brahma Sustras are themselves known as "Śāreeraka Mimāṃsa". The very expression implies that the Paramātman has Śāreera. (4) "Ānanda praçurah" need not necessarily involve an admixture of unhappiness or sorrow. The statement "Praçura-Prakāśassavitā" for instance means that the Sun has "a great deal of light", but do we on that account take it as conveying the idea that there is some darkness as well in the sun? No. "Praçura-Prakāśassavitā" expresses that there is no other body than the sun, which has such an amount of light. Our interpretation of "Ānandamayah" must be in the manner of this illustration. That no other being than the Parabrahman has such a plenitude of Ānandam is what the expression seeks to convey.

Let us turn to the positive grounds for maintaining that "Ānandamayah" refers to the Parabrahman and not to the jiva. (1) We have seen that in describing the Brahman the Upanishadvākyas lead us step by step, first naming it as Annam, then Prānam, Manas, vijnānam and finally call it Ānandamayah. This is in accordance with the procedure known as sthoola-Arundati Nyāya. The star "Arundati" is not easily visible to the naked eye, and in order to locate it our attention is first drawn to some other star easily seen in the neighbourhood, and with that as a landmark we are enabled to detect the "Arundati". The brighter star is not in itself the object to be pointed out. It just serves the purpose of locating the other. Similarly, Annam, Prānam, Manas and Vijnānam are all mentioned only to be eliminated one by one. What stands finally as a true description of the Parabrahman is "Ānandamayah" alone. "Vijnāna" implies the jiva, and it is also one of the particulars eliminated. That the Ānandamayah is something distinct and different from Jivātman is thus clearly seen. (2) The Vedas reveal an attempt at measuring the ānandam of the "Ānan-

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damayah". Beginning with human happiness (such as can be had by one, who feels nothing wanting here, on earth) they ascend stage by stage in the scale of happiness by a process of progressive multiplication, hundredfold at each step, and arrive at the Ānāṇḍam of the four-faced Brahma, the creator of the fourteen worlds. Multiplying this again a hundredfold the Vedas seek to determine accordingly the Ānāṇḍam of the Ānāṇḍamaya, but in vain. The highest Ānāṇḍam transcends all computation. The Parabrahman alone has such Ānāṇḍam, and only to Him does the expression rightly refer. (3) In the Upanishadic section under consideration it is said that the Paramātmān is the cause of the jivātman's Ānāṇḍam (Eśa-hyevānāṇḍayāti). He, for whose Ānāṇḍam the Paramātmān is said to be the cause, must be different from the Paramātmān Himself, who is the cause. Hence it follows again that the Being spoken of as Ānāṇḍapraguraḥ must be the Paramātmān, who causes the Ānāṇḍam of the jiva. (4) At the beginning of the section we find it said that he, who knows the Brahman, attains the Highest (Brahmavidāpnoti param), which undoubtedly implies that the individual who attains and the Supreme being, who is the object of his attainment are different from each other. It is this difference which is emphasised by "vijñāna mayāt anyah" in the vākyaṃ already quoted. Hence the Brahman, who is referred to as Ānāṇḍamayah being different from the jiva must be no other than the Parabrahman. (5) Another vākyaṃ in the section says, "Sokāmayata, bahusyām prajāyeya", which clearly indicates that the great, unique resolve, which is responsible for the creation of the jagat cannot belong to anyone other than the Parabrahman. Thus again it is evident that what is referred to as "Ānāṇḍamayah" must be different from the jivātman. In the statement, "anyontarātmānāṇḍa mayāt" the difference is itself unambiguously expressed. (6) There is a further implication in the expression "Sokāmayata" quoted above. It reveals that when the Paramātmān creates the jagat He does so without any extraneous assistance, without even the assistance of a body. When the jiva functions as the cause of anything he cannot but depend on the aid of his body. The Parabrahman, on the other hand, creates the universe by the mere fiat of His will. The cause of the jagat must, therefore, be no less than the Paramātmān described as "Ānāṇḍamayah". (7) Lastly, there is yet another reference in the section to the difference between the Paramātmān and the Jivātman. It speaks of the Paramātmān as a Rasasvarūpa, one who is of the very essence of Bliss, and when the jiva attains Him he attains Bliss Divine. That is why He is "Ānāṇḍa mayah".

Thus in the *Ānandamayadhikaranam* it is stated that the *Parabrahman* is different from the *jiva*, that He is the cause of the *jagat*, and that He is rightly described as *Ānandamayah*, everyone of which proves that the *Brahman* is *Saviśesha*.

The Upanishadic section known as "*Ānandavalli*" further states that the *Paramātman*, who is *Ānandamayah* resides in the centre of the solar region (*Ādityamandala*) and the *Chāndogya* Upanishad also expresses the same idea in the *vākyam*, "*Ya eshontarāditye hiranmayah purusho drīsyate, hiranyasmaśruḥ, hiranya keśah, āpranakhāt sarva eva suvarṇah, tasya yathā kapyāsam pundareekam evam akshini*". The substance of this *vākyam* is that there resides a *purusha* in the centre of the sun, and he is of a beautiful bodily form with beautiful eyes. Now, the question arises whether all this description does not really refer to an ordinary *jiva*. "A golden hued body with beautiful eyes, arms and feet" is a description applicable to one, who is associated with body, with eyes, arms and feet. It is to the *jiva* that such a body can belong, and may we not, therefore, take the *Purusha*, who resides in the centre of the solar region to be a *jiva*? Of course, he may be one superior to the ordinary *jiva*, who inhabits the mundane sphere. He may well be a *Brahma* and function accordingly as the cause of the *jagat*. If the *vākyam* in the *Chāndogya* Upanishad refers to the *jiva*, that in *Anandavalli*, which refers to the Original cause of the *jagat* as *Ānandamayah*, must also stand for the *jiva* and not the *Parabrahman*.

It is in reply to the above contention that the next two sutras are framed. They state that the *Purusha* residing in the *Ādityamandala* is different from the *jiva*. A bodily form of surpassing beauty and brilliance may well belong to Him, for that He has a *divyamangala* *vigraha* is expressed by the *śrutis* themselves; only His body is not got as a result of *karma*. The human body or the body of a *jiva* in general is a *karmic* body. The *Paramātman's* *śareera* is a non-karmic, non-prakritic *śareera*. Its unique excellence is expressed in the term "*divya-śareera*". The same Upanishadic *vākyam* states that the *Paramātman* has a unique and distinguishing attribute, known as "*Apahatapāpmatvam*", which means that He remains personally unaffected by any kind of sin. It follows that the reference in the Upanishads is distinctly to Him, who has both "*Apahatapāpmatvam*" and a divinely beautiful *śareera*. Such a being can be no other than the *Paramātman*.

Then turning to the *Antaryāmi Brāhmana*, we find in it a *vākyam*, which runs as follows: "*Ya āditye tiṣṭan, ādityāt*

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antarah, yam ādityo naveda, yasya ādityaśśareeram, ya ādityam antaro yamayati". It speaks of Him, who resides in the sun, whom the sun does not know, whose śareera is the sun, and who commands and rules the sun. These expressions clearly bring out the difference between the sun and the Supreme Being, who resides in the sun. It is thus evident again that He who is spoken of as enthroned in the Ādityamandala must be the Paramātman.

In a previous section we have been led to the inference that the original cause of the jagat must be different both from the sentient and the non-sentient things, for, while the one lacks the attribute of immeasurable ānandam, the other is incapable of an act of will. But there are certain vākyas in the Chāndogya Upanishad that leave some room for misinterpretation, and that state that "Ākāśa" and "Prāṇa" are the cause of the jagat. The jagat-kāraṇa is spoken of by them in terms of Ākāśa and Prāṇa, and these expressions are well-known as denoting the non-sentient things of ether and the vital breath. But neither Ākāśa nor Prāṇa can be the original cause of the whole jagat, for these are themselves produced by that which is the One ultimate cause of all. What is itself but an item in the scheme of created things cannot be the cause of the totality of creation. It is to the Brahman that the Śrutis attribute the unique quality of jagatkāraṇatvam (being the cause of the jagat). The expressions "Ākāśa" and "Prāṇa" contained in the Upanishad vākyas refer only to the Paramātman, for the vākyas indicate a dharma which exclusively belongs to the Paramātman. It is this fact that is expressed in the two sections known as Ākāśādhikarana and Prāṇādhikarana; and further strengthened by the two subsequent adhikaranas, viz. the Jyotiradhikarana and Indraprāṇādhikarana.

VII

The last chapter has shown that distinct from sentient and non-sentient things there is a cause, which brought into being the whole jagat. In the second, third and fourth pādas, that constitute the remaining portion of the first adhyāya,⁸ the position that the sentient cetana as well as the non-sentient prakṛiti cannot be the cause of the jagat is elaborated. The sūtra with which this part of the discussion commences is "Sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt" and it has for its background certain vākyas in the Chāndogya Upani-

7. "Prāṇa" here stands for that which is the Prāṇa even of prāṇa, the life of all life, the Paramātman.

8. The entire ground of the Brahma Sūtras is covered by four adhyāyas or chapters, each of which consists of four pādas.

shad, such as, "Sarvam khalu idam Brahma—Tajjalaniti śānta upāseeta; Sakratum kurveeta etc.," which state that having acquired calm selfcontrol (i.e. being śāntas) we ought devoutly to worship the Paramātman, the Soul of the universe. Here arises a doubt, whether what is referred to by the expression "Brahman" is the Paramātman or jiva, and it is indeed a significant question, for the answer to it materially affects our conception of the jagatkāraṇa. If that which is indicated as the object of worship and devotion in the Upanishad-vākyam cited is only the jiva, it is the jiva that must have been the cause of the jagat, for the Upanishads lay down that the original cause of the jagat it is that must be the object of our meditation and worship. In support of the contention that the expression "Brahman" in this connection means only the jiva three reasons are advanced; (1) In the vākyam "Sarvam khalu idam Brahma," the words "idam sarvam" ("all this") refers to the jagat as a whole, the world of experience, and it is said to be the Brahman. The vākyam asserts the identity between the world and the Brahman. If the "Brahman" stood for the Paramātman, we should say that the Paramātman, who is infinite in His wisdom and power is identical with the jagat, with its many shortcomings and limitations. It would be absurd to hold such a position. But when we try to grasp the significance of "idam sarvam Brahma" the identity between the Brahman and the jagat would appear to be quite undeniable. If "Brahman" stood for Paramātman there would be difficulty in admitting the identity, but where is the difficulty if we take the expression to mean the jiva? (2) The expression "Brahma" literally means that which is great or large. Although the jiva is not great like the Parabrahman, there is an important sense in which greatness can belong to the jiva. In mukti, that is after the release from the shackles of the karmic body, the jñāna of the jiva attains the level of omniscience. We may, therefore, regard the jiva to be as great as the Paramātman in this respect, and take the expression "Brahma" to stand for the jiva. (3) Speaking of the Paramātman the Upanishads state that He is unassociated with Prāṇa or Manas. But in the section under reference the vākyas attribute the qualities of prāṇa and manas (life and mind) to the Brahman. It follows, therefore, that the vākyas refer only to the jivātman and not to the Paramātman.

Vyāsa's reply to the foregoing contention as expressed by Rāmānuja may be summarised as follows: (1) The "Brahman" in the vākyam refers only to the Paramātman. If we consider the expression "Tajjalaniti" it would become clear that the "Brahman" refers to that Being from whom this jagat has originated,

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to whom it returns, and by whom it is protected and sustained. In the words "sarvam khalu idam brahma", the expression "khalu" signifies a well-known fact (prasiddha) and conveys the meaning that the Brahman is the ātman or soul of all jagat as a matter of popular śāstraic knowledge. It is, therefore, the Śareerātma (body-soul) unity between the jagat and the Brahman that is expressed in the vākyam, and there is no reference to the jiva whatever. (2) It is certainly more appropriate to say that the word "Brahman" with its implication of greatness in every respect stands unconditionally for the Paramātmān than to argue that because of the jivātman's acquisition of omniscience after its Mukti it can be considered as great as the Paramātmān. (3) The expressions, "manomayah" and "prāṇa sareerah" mean respectively "one who could be known by a pure mind," and "one, who has the prāṇa, the very vital force of the jagat, as His śareera." These attributes can belong only to the Paramātmān and not to the jivātman.

Further, in the same Upanishadic section the "Brahman" is pointed out as the object of attainment by the jiva, and the jiva as the subject, who attains the Brahman. The vākyas also state that the Paramātmān in His infinite mercy and goodness has taken His divine seat in the heart (hridaya) of the jiva himself so as to be easily accessible to him for worship and devotion. The expression "Brahman" does, therefore, mean the Paramātmān, and no other. Though residing in the human body, enthroned in the heart of the finite individual, the Paramātmān experiences neither pleasure nor pain, which the jiva occupying his karmic abode must necessarily experience. Karma and its consequences of pleasure and pain leave the Paramātmān absolutely unaffected.

The expression "Bhokta," which literally means the enjoyer or generally, the experiencing subject, has been understood and interpreted in two senses, viz. (1) one who experiences the fruit of one's own punya and pāpa, and (2) one who is the destroyer and consumer of all the worlds. It is obvious that only the Paramātmān, the Lord of Creation, can be a Bhokta in the second sense, while the jiva or the finite individual may be said to be a Bhokta of the first category. Overlooking the alternative interpretation and adhering to the first alone the Purvapakṣa maintains that where the Upanishads contain a reference to a Bhokta they mean only the jiva and not the Paramātmān. The Vyāsa-sūtra, "attā-ṣarāṅgāra grahanāt"⁹ is framed in reply to such a contention, and

9. Brahma Sūtras 1:2.

is based on the Upanishad vākyam, "Yasya brahmaṇa kshatranṇa ubhe bhavata odanah, mṛtyuryasya upaseṇam Kaitthā-veda-yatra Sah,"¹⁰ which speaks of that being, for whom the whole jagat is like a morsel of food (or annam) and by whom even Death, the instrument of universal destruction, comes to be consumed. In this vākyam there is an indication of a Bhokta through the reference to annam or food, and the Purva-paksha maintains that the Bhokta is the jiva. Rāmānuja bringing out the real significance of the sūtra quoted already says that the whole jagat is the object of the Paramātman's saṁhāra or destruction. The destroyer of all the worlds can be no other than the "Supreme Lord," and Death (Mṛtyu) is not only an instrument of destruction for Him, but is himself finally consumed by Him. It is the Paramātman that is referred to at the beginning of this Upanishadic section (vide: "nāyamātmā pravaṇanena labhyah etc.")¹¹ and it would, therefore, be but consistent to understand the suggestion of a Bhokta in the vākyam under consideration as a reference to the Paramātman. Dispelling all possible doubt on this point Rāmānuja cites the sūtra, "Guhām pravishṭāvātmānouhi,"¹² and says that the reference throughout the section is to the Paramātman. It is stated that both the Paramātman and the jivātman reside in the hridaya (literally the heart) and that the one offers bhakti to the other. The jivātman is the bhakta or the devotee, while the Paramātman is the object of his devotion. Through bhakti the former attains the latter; one is the subject and the other the object of such attainment. Hence these two are referred to as the bhoktas in "ritam pibantow" in the same text. As the individual directly experiencing the fruit of karma the jiva is a Bhokta; and as the supreme Lord controlling and guiding the jivātman in the experience from within, the Paramātman is the Bhokta in the ultimate analysis.

In the next adhikarana the dialectical objector draws a contrast between the Kaṭopanishad-vākyam, "Kaitthāveda yatra sah," which means that the Paramātman cannot be easily seen or known, and the Chāndogya Upanishad vākyam, which speaks of a Purusha seen in the pupil of the eye. The Paramātman being one, who can not be seen easily, he, who is seen must be the jiva. Vyāsa's reply to the argument is contained in the sūtra "antara upapatteh."¹³

10. Kaṭopanishad.

11. Kaṭopanishad.

12. Brahma Sūtras 1.2.

13. Br. Sūtras 1.2.

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He who is said to be visible in the eye (ya-eshokshini) is no other than the Paramātmān. "Driśyate" refers to the fact that He is seen by the Yogis, while "Kaitthāveda yatra sah" conveys the truth that He is not seen by others, those who are ayogis. Moreover, in this Upanishadic section is told the story of Jābāla, who imparts to his disciple Upakosala the knowledge of certain extraordinary qualities belonging to the Parabrahman, and the qualities enumerated there are such as can belong to none other than the Paramātmān. It is, therefore, the Paramātmān who is revealed as residing in the pupil of the eye. In the Upanishadic narrative we read that, when Jābāla was away, the gods whom Upakosala was worshipping in obedience to his teacher's instructions, observing his genuine thirst for the highest knowledge taught him about the Paramātmān, the Immeasurable Bliss Divine, adding that further and fuller knowledge would be obtained directly from Jābāla himself on his return. The rest of this Upanishadic section contains Jābāla's teachings, and it is to that context that the Vākyam under consideration belongs. The reference in the Vākyam is, therefore, to the Parabrahman. The word "Purusha" in "Yaeshokshini purusho driśyate" refers to the Paramātmān, as the inner source of light, but for whose presence no knowledge, no perception and no vision of any kind would be possible.

It is the universal immanence of the Paramātmān that forms the subject of discussion in the next adhikarana, the Antaryāmi-adhikarana. This section proves that He, who is the Antaryāmin or the Immanent Lord of All is not the Jiva but the Parabrahman. The discussion is based on the Antaryāmi Brāhmana of the Brihādāranyaka Upanishad, which speaks of that one, who resides in Prithvi and other elements, who remains unknown by them, who has them as his Śareera and who rules them from within. He is the Ātman, and He is of a uniquely blissful nature. The point of view of the Purvapaksha that the immanent being referred to is the Jivātman cannot be sustained, because the reference in the following few vākyas to one, who sees, hears, and thinks does not necessarily imply one, who has the ordinary physical organs of perception and understanding. The Inner Ruler, the Lord who governs from within has no need for any of the common, physical organs of sensation or perception, and yet He can be seer, hearer and thinker in a very real sense, says the Upanishad. Further in the section we read that the Immanent Lord of Creation also resides within the ātman. The vākyas speak of Him, who is the Ātman, who is not known by the ātman, for whom the ātman is śareera and who rules the ātman. These attributes cannot belong to the Jiva.

The next "Adriśyatvādhikarāna" relates to the Mundakopanishad. "Atha parā yayātaksharam adhigamyate etc." is the Upanishad vākya considered here, and in this section we meet with such expressions as adreśyam (that which is not the object of direct sense perception) and agrāhyam (that which is not grasped by inferential knowledge). The reference is clearly to the Paramātman, who is beyond sense-perception and inference; and this becomes clear beyond doubt when we grasp the import of expressions like "yassarvajnassarvavit,"¹⁴ and "aksharāt paratah-parah"¹⁵ in the same Upanishadic section.

In the Dyubhāvādyadhikarāna, with which the third quarter of the first adhyāya opens, it is the Mundakopanishad vākya, "yasmin dyouh prithviḥ antariksham" etc. that is considered. Here the expression "yasmin" indicates an entity, who is the sustaining ground of the three worlds. That this entity is the jiva is the contention of the Purvapaksha, and in support of that position three reasons are stated:—(1) In the same Upanishadic vākya we read the association of Manas (mind) as well as of the five kinds of prāṇas to that which is referred to by the expression, "yasmin." Such an association can be true of jiva rather than of the Brahman. (2) In the next vākya a similar association with the pulse or the arterial throb is also spoken of; and this again can happen only to the jiva. (3) Further on in the vākya we meet with the statement "bahudā jāyamānah," which refers to being born in the various orders of creation, such as those of the devas and the human and sub-human species. It is the jiva who takes such births.

These arguments are answered in the following manner:—
(1) The vākya states that the being referred to is the ground, which sustains the three worlds of dyu, prithvi and antariksham. The Parabrahman alone can be such a ground. (2) The vākya further points out that that which supports and sustains the worlds is no other than the Ātman, which is also the means, " (sādhana) for the attainment of the deathless state of Moksha (Amrutasya esha setuh), and it cannot imply anything but the Paramātman. (3) In the same section we read of the object attained by the Mukta, the liberated jiva, who (it is said) having freed himself

14. He who knows all substances and all attributes.

15. "Akshara" means Prakriti or matter. That which stands on a higher level is the Jiva, and that which is still higher (Paratahparah) or is the highest is the Paramātman.

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from the bondage of merit (Punya) and demerit (pāpa) attains and becomes equal to the Paramātman. (4) It speaks on the other hand of "the dyubhṛvādātman," on obtaining the glorious vision of whom the jiva gets cleansed of all sorrow and suffering. Such an auspicious being can be the Paramātman alone. (5) The vākyam is from the Mundakopanishad, which even at the outset sings of the one changeless Paramātman, whose nature and identity remain throughout immutable; and the reference in it by means of the expression "dyubhṛvādātman" must necessarily be to the Parabrahman. (6) The section further contains an allegory, which beautifully illustrates the distinction as well as the relation between the jiva and the Parabrahman. Perched on the tree of the body are two birds, Paramātman and Jivātman; the latter tastes (experiences) the fruits of karma, while the other remains untouched by them. The whole section refers mainly to the Paramātman. The Paramātman may well be the ultimate ground both for Manas and the Prāṇas as well as for the arterial throb. Although the Paramātman does not take birth as the result of karma, he does incarnate out of pure grace (anugraha) and for the purpose of the redemption of suffering humanity, and the statement "bahudā jāyamnāh" may rightly apply to Him.

Passing on to the section known as Daharādhikarana in the same quarter we find Rāmānuja expounding Vyāsa's idea discusses the meaning of the expression "Daharākāśa" with reference to the vākyam, "Atha yadidam asmin Brahmapure daharam pundareekam veśma daharosmin antarākāśah tasmin yadantah tadanveshtavyam tadvāva vijijnāsitavyam,"¹⁶ and the object of the discussion is to establish that the reference here, as in the preceding sections, is only to the Paramātman. The vākyam conveys the following sense: In the innermost recesses of the jivātman's being there is a place of residence for the Parabrahman. Hence the body of the jiva is known as Brahmapuram or the city of the Brahman. The Paramātman's abode in this sacred city is literally a small place, in the region of the heart. This *sanctum sanctorum* resembles a white lotus (pundareekam). In that lotus of the heart there shines what is called the "daharākāśa." The daharākāśa together with what inheres in it ought to be thought about, understood and meditated upon.

The purvapākṣha advances the argument that, because "ākāśa" primarily indicates only the bhūtākāśa or one of the five

16. Chāndogya Up. 8.

elements, and "dahara" conveys the idea that it is small or circumscribed, the expression daharākāśa does not represent the Paramātmān, but simply means a kind of limited, ethereal region, not different from the ordinary ether. Vyāsa's reply to the argument is condensed in the sutra, "dahara uttarebhyah."¹⁷ In determining the meaning of the Vākya, "Atha yadidam asmin Brahmapure" etc. We have necessarily to answer the question whether it is *only that* which is in the daharākāśa that is pointed out as the fit object of meditation or it is both the daharākāśa and what inheres in it that ought to be sought after and attained. It is necessary to remember that in this Upanishadic section the duty of dhyāna or meditation is prescribed for those who aspire for Moksha. At the end of the section there is a conclusive statement, which expresses that those who meditate on the Atman together with the guṇas inhering in it will attain Moksha. The object of dhyāna is not a bare, contentless, abstraction, but one with a plethora of guṇas; it is of the nature of a substance in organic association with its attributes. Taking his stand on this significant Upanishadic assertion Rāmānuja interprets the words, "dahar-osmin antarākāśah tasmin yadantastadanveshtavyam" as meaning that both the daharākāśa in the heart and the unique cluster of rare excellences inseparably associated with it ought to be the object of meditation and realisation. Moreover, the vākya was expressed by an Ācārya to his disciples, and it clearly conveys the instruction that the daharākāśa together with what is in it ought to be known and meditated upon. With a view to dispelling a doubt in the minds of the disciples, who were at first unable to realise how one could meditate on anything admittedly so small as to occupy the central regions of the heart, the Ācārya proceeded to draw a comparison between the bhutākāśa and the daharākāśa. This makes it obvious that the brutākāśa, though similar to the daharākāśa, is different from it. Comparison expresses similarity, but it cannot mean identity.

As we proceed further in the section we read that the daharākāśa is the ground or ādhāra for the entire jagat, and that it is a source of incomparable delight to the devotee. These qualities cannot belong to the ordinary bhutākāśa. It is also stated that the daharākāśa is the Ātman, that it is subject to no essential modification or change, that it is absolutely unaffected by sin and has innumerable excellences. There are other vākyas in this section that

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explicitly refer to the Paramātman, such as those that say that he attains liberation, who does his duty, guided by right knowledge, and meditates on the Paramātman and His infinite excellences. Thus in the entire context we find no direct reference to the bhūtākāśa at all.

In some of the remaining adhikaranas of the third pāda Rāmānuja takes up certain vākyas from the Upanishads—for instance, the Kaṭopanishad—and shows that in order to bless His devotee the Lord, having assumed a very small form, of the size of a thumb, chooses to reside in the hridaya or heart of every jiva. Rāmānuja then proceeds to establish that He, the Ívara, is different from both the bound (baddha) and the liberated (mukta) jivas.

In the last quarter of the adhyāya the most important argument is that which contains the answer to the objections of the Sāṅkhyan school on the question of the ultimate cause of the jagat. Vyāsa has taken up for consideration in the Sūtras only some of the many Upanishadic texts, in revealing the nature of the ultimate cause. He, therefore, concludes the first adhyāya with the statement that, without traversing the whole ground he has only shown the way the Upanishads have to be interpreted, and that in deciding the question of Jagatkāraṇatvam, the ultimate cause of the Jagat, we have just to follow the method indicated by him in these Sūtras for the interpretation of the other texts as well. "Etena sarve vyākhyātāḥ vyākhyātāḥ."¹⁸

[To be continued.]

18. Br. Sūtras 1:4.

Reviews

INDIA IN KALIDASA. By B.S. Upadhyaya, with a Foreword by Dr. E. J. Thomas. Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1947. Pp. xvi+385. Price Rs. 25/-.

Scholars of Historico-literary research would feel highly gratified if they peruse the pages of the book under review, '*India in Kālidāsa*' by B. S. Upadhyaya, which contains a comprehensive and critical study of India in all aspects as revealed in the poetic and dramatic works of Kalidasa, the prince among Sanskrit poets. The book shows the author's indefatigable industry and the extraordinary patience with which he has studied in entirety the problems, which no scholar either in India or abroad has so carefully and assiduously tackled. It is, therefore, a matter of pride and satisfaction that an Indian scholar has attempted for the first time to study critically all the works of one of the greatest poets of India from different angles of vision. It is a pioneer attempt and a model to others for similar studies of our other ancient poets.

The work is divided into seven books. Book I is devoted to the geographical divisions of India; Book II deals with the state and the king and his administration as the true representative of the people; Book III describes the social life of India; Book IV analyses the development of fine arts particularly poetry, drama, music and dancing; Book V treats of economic life including the chief exports and imports in India; Book VI deals with popular technical education; Book VII treats of religion and philosophy. All these topics are dealt with by the author in a very elaborate manner giving apt quotations from the poet's own works which are also well supplemented by relevant passages from contemporary literature.

A close study of these chapters would reveal the following important ideas of the great poet Kalidasa: (1) India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is one undivided unit; (2) The king who is an embodiment of good qualities is the sole representative of the people and he should carry on the administration according to the will of the people; (3) All people of the state are to be educated freely by the state and they are also to be provided with suitable work according to their abilities; (4) The state has also to patronise the fine arts and other branches of learning both

popular and technical, and the king is expected to have personal acquaintance with fine arts as well as state-craft and other branches of knowledge quite useful for the administration of the country. We also find that the poet is not a sectarian. He is a firm believer in dharma. His descriptions of many Gods and Goddesses, particularly the *Trimurtis*, reveal his firm faith in the *bhakti-marga*, and above all, his spirit of compromise, as explained in the *Gītā-sāstra*, to practice *karma* without motive or attachment, to attain the supreme knowledge of *Atman*. In short, he is to be considered one of the foremost *advaitins* who hold the view that all diversities are only the passing phases of *Reality* and that the real truth is unity or oneness (of *Atman*).

The author has not fully discussed the date of Kalidasa, though in Appendix A he summarises a few well-known views of scholars in India and abroad on the topic. He asserts that Kalidasa has borrowed a few verses from Asvaghosa and adds that our poet's omission of *Sakas* from his works, the calm times and the sense of luxury during his life-time, his frequent mention of puranic traditions, and his descriptions of a good number of images of Hindu Gods point to the posteriority of Kalidasa to Asvaghosa who lived in the first century A.D. And he concludes that since our poet clearly refers to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasāstra* (which he dates to 300 A.D.), Kalidasa must have flourished about 400 A.D. during the time of the Guptas, particularly Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta. This view is also accepted by the Western orientalists. Many Indian scholars, however, hold the other popular view that our poet flourished in the first century B.C., when the Vikrama era commenced (in the year 56 B.C.). It is argued that the very selection of king Agnimitra as the hero of *Malavikāgnimitra*, and the closing of the reign of king Agnivarna who is a contrast to the other solar kings described in *Raghuvamśa*, indicate respectively that our poet might be a contemporary of the Sunga king Agnimitra whose story in living memory the poet wanted to dramatise; and that our poet might have lived in an age when monarchy was in a hopelessly decaying stage which was well represented by the reign of Agnivarna and which contains also a note of warning to all royal families of his age. These and many other well-known facts would show that our poet might have flourished in the first century B.C. This is still an open question which is to be finally settled by specialists. The author is to be congratulated for his excellent work which is no doubt a valuable addition to the printed literature on the subject.

V. A. Ramaswami Sastri.

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OUR HERITAGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. By S. R. Sharma.
Pp. X + 202 with six half-tone colour illustrations—Hind
Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, Rs. 6/8.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE. By the same
author. Hind Kitabs. Rs. 3/-.

These two valuable books interpret Indian culture and bring out its significance. The first book appears to be written for the general reader and the second one specifically for the college student.

"Our Heritage" is divided into eleven chapters. The first chapter deals with the features of our country, but a South Indian gets the feeling that 'Āryāvartaḥ puṇya bhūmiḥ madhyam Viṇḍhya Himālayōḥ' (p. 12) is in the author's mind, as the chapter is written. Chapter II begins with a fine quotation from Professor Joad where he observes that "India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness to effect a synthesis of many different elements." Alas! If only the Muslims today brought forth more "willingness" to the Hindu "ability" for the 'Synthesis'! As we read the second half of this chapter dealing with the blending of Hindu-Muslim cultures, written so well, a pang of regret passes through us, and the section now seems to be almost unrealistic. Chapter III is a sort of "Foreign Notices" of India from Magasthenes to Bernier. Chapter IV deals with the Philosophical speculation of India and its attempt at the realisation of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness in life. The next chapter brings in the concept of 'Dharma', and the seventh chapter surveys the democratically organised, effective political institutions of ancient India and their ability to enrich 'local life by additions to its amenities, social and cultural' (p. 99). The next chapter is devoted to a survey of greater India. The "monuments of greatness in brick and mortar", in "civic organisation," in personalities like Aśōka, Akbar and Shivāji are also illustrated in the next chapter. The later chapters show that India does not lag behind in material greatness, in applied sciences, and in utilitarian riches, and yet she has the depth of the inward culture which can offer valuable light to the various conflicting problems of the present world.

The essence of the greatness of India is brought out very learnedly and very readably. The exposition of our Heritage is so convincing and lucid that we would echo that sentiment, the epitome of Indian culture, so well set in that Kashmiri Lyric (p. 199).

"Ferryman, lead me and my countrymen"
To that land where

.....all the good things of life are shared by all."

Just a word may be mentioned about the spelling of Sanskrit words: Many of the words are given without diacritical marks and sometimes in their Hindi forms like Kosha, Shiva, Shastra. This could be given up for a more uniform Sanskrit spelling. However this is borne in mind in the second book. It simply is an excellent book for all—not merely for the college student. It is scholarly yet simple, clear and concise and bears out all the experience of Professor Sharma in the educational field, in its fine narrative.

There are three maps at the end of the book and the last one on 'Greater India' could have the ancient Indian names as the rest of the two, instead of the modern ones.

Professor S. R. Sharma could well be proud of these two little volumes.

N. V. R.

THE MATRIX OF INDIAN CULTURE. (Sri Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Foundation Lectures, Nagpur University, 1946). By Dr. D. N. Majumdar, (published for the Nagpur University by the Universal Publishers, Lucknow—1947—pp. 242.

Dr. Majumdar, a forceful scholar of the growing science of Anthropology, analyses the principal features and factors in its development, stressing the viewpoints of the evolutionary and diffusionist schools and the importance of applied or practical anthropology today. He surveys the stages in the development of Indian anthropological studies from the days of Jones and Buchanan-Hamilton. Risley and the workers of his and the succeeding generation have comprehended in their labours, racial anthropometry, culture-contacts, kinship and blood-group investigation, and folk-culture, besides serological investigations. The third chapter on Tribal Demography reveals the defective nature of the data available about Indian primitive tribes. We read therein how the decline of some tribes is not due to their lower fecundity but to conditions of life which can be easily remedied or made good. Tribal demography would enable the understanding of the tribes' mind and the discriminating maintenance of tribal morality and authority, as it would not do to eradicate tribal superstitions wholesale. The tribes have been supplying a growing reservoir of

surplus material to swell the exterior castes, as soon as they wean themselves away from tribal life and become economically dependent upon neighbouring groups. Thus cheap money and dissipation have dissipated tribal morality among the Mündas; and missionary activity has encouraged detribalisation and disintegration of tribal beliefs and practices. The question of tribal rehabilitation has been ably dealt with by the author in Chapter VI, in respect of (1) the causes of the contacts of primitive tribes with civilisation, (2) the results of such contacts and (3) the process through which tribal cultures are usually transformed or modified, like simple adoption, acculturation and assimilation. When a tribe adopts alien traits of culture the adoption must be selective and not prove injurious to its growth. Acculturation of an alien trait depends upon the temperamental, as well as the social condition of the group.

The study of the race basis of culture requires a thorough grasp of social history and of all factors that stabilise or disaffiliate race strain. Race mixture can be stabilised by space fixation and there is an intimate race relationship between high and low groups in the same geographical area. Finally are treated problems of anthropological significance arising out of migration, immigration of cultural and linguistic minorities, etc. In India each geographical region has produced a particular type of blend which has adjusted itself for centuries, but at the same time particular physical characteristics can be improved by selective mating and careful dieting. The problem of population is governed by its supreme test, good quality.

The author is to be congratulated on his instructive, suggestive and multifaceted treatment of anthropological problems.

C. S. S.

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. K. L. Daftary, (The Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectures, 1944). Nagpur University—1947.

The ten lectures delivered by the author have the general aim of demonstrating the continuity of society as the objectives of Dharma as stated by the law-givers of ancient India, and urge that the institutions of Ancient India, being those of an adult society, can and do offer lessons for us at the present day. The author interprets that Varahakalpa was started by Ananda Brahma, 3102 years before the beginning of the Christian Era and the four Yugas occupy 1000 years between them; and we are now in the Krita

Yuga of the 6th Mahakalpa revolution. A Manu and Saptarishis were appointed every fourth year in every ordinary *Kalpa*; and they selected men for the various *varnas*; they enacted laws by unanimous voting, in respect of *Yajna*, occupation, punishments, progeny, *Varnas* and *Asramas*. The public *Yajna*, named *Aswamedha*, was performed every fourth year; and the *Asramas* of *Vanaprastha* and *Sannyasa* were not then in existence. After the death of Ananda Brahma, head of the State of Brahnavarta, there arose confusion; and after a period of 300 years the people made Svayambhuva Manu their Leader and King, in *Kalpa* era, 432, i.e., B.C. 2670. The laws as to *Varnas* and *Asramas* were reduced to writing by Manu. About 1000 *Kalpa* era, Vaivaswata Manu established new colonies outside Brahnavarta in Ayodhya, Bihar and Kurukshetra. The performer of the new *Aswamedha* could claim to be the Suzerain King in the extended Aryan world. Redistribution of *varnas* was made and extended to people of all Arya states. Gradually new *Mantras* ceased to be composed; and the *Brahmanas*, including the *Upanishads* were composed, and the credit for this should go to the institution of the *Saptarishis*. In *Kalpa* Era 1800 and 2400 (i.e., between 1302 B.C. and 702 B.C.) the *Vedas* and the *Manusmriti* were challenged by new reformers, and the counter-claim was made that they were absolute, unchangeable authorities. After *Kalpa* 2400 began the downfall of the Arya society in India. *Varnas* and castes became rigid with separatist tendencies; and spurious *Upanishads* were composed. The *Manusmriti* ceased to change and other *Smritis* were composed, while greater restrictions on marriage, were brought in.

Our author gives the *Saptarishis* the same qualities and qualifications that are given by the author of the *Harivamsa*. He would urge that modern Hindu Society should be reformed on lines similar to those adopted by Manu and the *Saptarishis* of old.

C. S. S.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DOUBLE DATES, ANDU AND EDIR-ANDU IN THE REGNAL YEARS OF CERTAIN CHOLA, PANDYA AND OTHER KINGS. By Sri S. Subrahmanya Sastri, B.A., Late Devasthanam Archæologist, Tirumalai-Tirupathi Devasthanam, Tirupathi

One of the intricate problems arising out of the study of South Indian epigraphs, is the interpretation of the regnal dates contained in the Pandya, Chera and Chola inscriptions, and those

coming from the Telugu country dated from the 10th century A.D. onwards. These present a peculiar difficulty as they refer to the regnal years in the double dates— x years opposite y years—(Tamil, Āndu and Edir-Āndu). There are also inscriptions with triple and quadruple dates as well. Hitherto the attempts of scholars in solving this rather naughty and intricate problem did not bear satisfactory results; however, the period covered by these double dates (for example இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் நாற்பத்திரண்டு) was taken to refer to the actual period of rule constituting a reign of 42 years of that king and the chronology of the dynastic history was thus worked out. Nevertheless the meaning of the double dates was made neither clear nor intelligible and such double dates are still a mystery.

The double dates were interpreted to refer to the Parasurama and Barhaspatya cycles by Sir Walter Eliot and Dr. Caldwell, respectively; and Dr. Burnell, the author of South Indian Paleography, interpreted that in double dates the first Āndu (year) might refer to the regnal year of the king and the second might refer to his age. Dr. Hultsch, one of the pioneers in the field of South Indian epigraphical research, suggested that the first and second (opposite: 'Edir') years might refer to the dates of appointment as heir-apparent of a king and his actual reign period respectively. This was accepted and followed by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya and others. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao suggested that the first and second years referred respectively to the actual regnal year of the king and to the date counting from the coronation of the previous ruler and added that this method was usually continued till the ruling prince was crowned. The foregoing views regarding the interpretation of the double dates will show the importance assumed by the subject in the past and the inconclusive nature of the various interpretations. The last view is that of Mr. C. V. Narayana Ayyar, who suggested that the date opposite to which other dates follow, must be constant in the case of the same king. Even this reading was not helpful for some of the epigraphs of the same king do not have the first year remaining constant throughout.

But in spite of these incertitudes, the method of adding up the first and the second (opposite) years as referring to the whole reign period of a king, is found plausible and the only convincing solution and this is amply justified by a few Sanskrit epigraphs of the times. For example the larger Sinnamanur plates of Rajasimhavarman and the Tiruppuvanam Grants of Kulasekhara Pandya, which are dated in 14+2

years and 13+12 years respectively have their equivalents mentioned in the Sanskrit parts as "Shodasērajye" and "Vatsare Panchavimsē" for the above two rulers. The interpretation by Dr. Hultzsch of the Tamil word 'Edir' (opposite) as meaning 'after' is thus justified by the contents of the Sanskrit records and thus it will be seen that the actual period of rule of a king at one stage is to be ascertained by arriving at the sum total of these two dates by the simple process of addition. Sometimes, instead of the *Edir-Āndu*, the number of days are given and in such cases the year is worked out by converting the days into years. This method has been followed in the interpretation of regnal periods of kings.

What this entry of double dates, means is still unsettled. Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, Epigraphist to the Tirumalai Tirupathi Devasthanams has attempted in the following pages to interpret the *Āndu* and the *Edir-Āndu* as referring to a period of interregnum in the reign of a king and his subsequent restoration to the throne. Mr. Sastri has taken for his critical study the Trivendipuram inscription of Rajaraja III, 1216-1246 A.D. which contains the double dates 15+1 years. The reign of Rajaraja III was a most trying period in the fortunes of the later Cholas and it was then that serious attempts were made to overthrow Chola supremacy by the rebellions Kadava Kopperunjinga, whose imprisonment of the Chola Ruler at Sendamangalam, led to the intervention of the Hoysala ruler, Vira-Narasimha in 1231-32 A.D. on behalf of the Chola and his restoration to the throne. The break in the reign and the subsequent restoration are interpreted as the reason for the institution of the double dates in the epigraph, and Mr. Sastri has tried to establish his interpretation of an interregnum and restoration as an explanation for the incorporation of the *Āndu* and the *Edir-Āndu* and of universal application by analysing and studying the Chola and Pandya epigraphs of Kulottunga III, Rajendra III, Varaguna Pandya (acc. 862-3 A.D.) and Maravarman Sundara Pandya I. He has brought into relief the troublous political conditions of the times as studied and gleaned from the contemporary epigraphs and literature in order to show that there was either a civil war or *coup de etat* resulting in the overthrow of royal authority. The cessation of rule is thus indicated by the employment by the *Āndu* and *Edir-Āndu*, and the latter will show only the re-instatement of the ruler to the throne. It has also been shown as a result of a very exhaustive analysis of a number of epigraphs that the regnal year (*āndu*) would remain constant unless there is a second dethronement. The year that is constant

is taken to refer to the period of deprivation and the year that is progressive refers to the continuity of rule. The reference to more than one *edir-Āndu* is interpreted by Mr. Sastri to refer to the frequent breaks and restorations to the throne. Thanks are due to Mr. Sastri for his scholarly attempt in interpreting the mystery of these double dates.

However one is tempted to cast a doubt regarding the propriety of such stately rulers in allowing the scribes to record the breaks in their reign periods. If it was a policy what was the authority that sanctioned it? Mr. Sastri says that there must have been some recognised authoritative sanction for the use of these dates. These points require further exploration and elucidation. The regions from where such inscriptions hail must be studied with reference to the extent and domain of the restored rulers before and after their restoration with a view to finding out the clue for the wide use of these double dates. In other words whether the regions housing these records formed part of the domain subsequent to the restoration or not. If it was not so, perhaps it might lend some clue for the use of the above dates by others not connected with the home administration. As Mr. Sastri puts it, his interpretation of an "interregnum" must be made definite and unassailable by further study and research.

V. Vridhagirisan.

ISLAMIC POLITY. By Dr. P. Saran, Pub. Students' Friends, Allahabad: Benares. Crown octavo pages 170+19. Price Rs. 3. Date of publication not mentioned.

Dr. P. Saran, the author of this little book, is already familiar to students of medieval Indian history who have read his excellent treatise on "The Provincial Government of the Mughals", and other research contributions published in various learned journals. In the publication under review he has "attempted to present in a brief readable form the latest researches of other scholars as well as mine on the various aspects of Muslim institutions." This modestly stated aim has been eminently fulfilled by Dr. Saran, although "Islamic Polity in India" might have been a more appropriate title, since his treatment—but for 12 pages of introductory observations on "The Origin and Development of Islamic Polity"—is confined to India. However, within the scope thus indicated, the author has most skilfully brought together vast materials—both descriptive and critical—which illustrate his mastery over

the subject of his exposition. The reader is struck at once by the comprehensiveness of grasp, accuracy of details, and lucidity of presentation that Dr. Saran has achieved within the brief compass of a bare 170 crown pages. These include two Appendices: I on Jiziah and II on a Glossary of certain technical terms. A masterly sense of proportion between the theoretical and actual aspects has been maintained throughout, holding the balance even between the idealistic and realistic viewpoints.

Chapter I describes very pithily the religious, social and political beginnings of Islam, and particularly dwells on the Genesis of the Caliphate and its transformation, clearly bringing out the nature of the administrative organization and the principles governing it under changing circumstances. The rudiments enunciated by the Prophet, the Arabic aspect of the Umayyads, and the Turko-Persian character of the Abbasides—in the Byzantine setting, as well as the problem of defining the relations between the Faithful and the *Zimmis*, and the ultimate outcome of all these, have been adequately dealt with as providing the necessary background for the main theme, viz. "Islamic Polity in India".

Chapter II deals with the Political Institutions of the Sultans of Delhi, and the next three chapters are devoted to the Mughal period up to and including the reign of Akbar. Here in India, the Turks and Afghans were confronted with new problems, inasmuch as they could neither fully convert nor completely wipe out the vast infidel populations representing an alien creed and very ancient civilisation. The theories of Islam could not be applied wholesale, even in the modified form of the Turko-Persian *milieu*. Further adjustments were thus forced upon the protagonists and instruments of Islam. These have been considered in three stages: (i) during the period of the Sultanate, (ii) during the transitional period of the first two Mughals and the Surs, and (iii) under the wholeheartedly liberal policy of Akbar. One cannot help pointing out the important omission, in this analysis, of the pre-Turkish Arab phase in Sind and Multan. Likewise, one wishes that the study had also covered the post-Akbar period which constituted the real testing time of the noble and heroic experiments made by that unique statesman. These limitations, however, do not qualitatively detract from the critical and lucid treatment of the topics actually dealt with.

Considering the unity of the structure of the above scheme, chapter VI, which deals with "Land Proprietorship under Muslim Rule", might as well have gone with "Jiziyah" into a separate

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Appendix. When a second edition of this very useful book comes to be published—as I feel certain it will be—I venture to suggest that “escheat” may be included among the terms discussed in the Glossary; and the nature of the controversy alluded to in the text in connection with the significance of “*zat* and *sawar*” ranks in the *mansabdari* system also elucidated in an Appendix. Considering that the present publication has been intended for the use of college students, printers’ errors like “Turushkadauda” for Turushkadanda (p. 27), “Paranti” for Parauti (p. 112), and “swearred” for swore (p. 142), might have been pointed out in an “Errata.”

Turning to the substance of the book, I have little hesitation in commending it to those for whom it has been written. There have been so far special monographs on topics covered by single chapters in the present work; but this is the first attempt that I have come across in which a synoptic survey of the subject as a whole and in all its aspects has been made. This is very helpful for the student as it conveys to him a sense of proportion and perspective. In doing this Dr. Saran has nowhere indulged in mere generalisations without reinforcing his views with authentic illustrations. In the expression of opinions—particularly where he differed from the old veterans—he has been unequivocal. He has avoided the extremes of idealisation on the one side, and unsympathetic and unimaginative cynicism on the other. He has shown great discrimination in assessing the contributions of dynasties like the Tughlaqs and their predecessors, and individual statesmen like Sher Shah and Akbar. Unlike many a Muslim writer, he has not been hampered by a desire to harmonise everything with the *Shariat*; where there was obvious necessity of breaking away from the old and creating new traditions based on fresh experience—as the Indian Muslim rulers more and more felt obliged to do—Dr. Saran has clearly and fearlessly pointed out the conflict between reactionary orthodoxy and liberal heterodoxy. In all such cases—as for instance in his note on the *Jiziyah*—his judgment has been consistent with historical veracity and sense of fairness in criticism.

Earlier scholars like Lane-Poole and Blochmann, as well as later critics like V. A. Smith and W. H. Moreland, missed much on account of their racial and political bias. Some Indian writers were provoked by their unsympathetic—almost cynical—criticisms into going to the other extremes of painting the past in unhistorically glowing colours. Dr. Saran has succeeded in giving us a truer picture of Islamic Polity—in theory and practice—which should serve as an admirable introduction and guide to the academic

student, while at the same time it provides a lucid and attractive bird's-eye view of a very important aspect and phase of India's administrative history before the advent of the British, for the uninitiated lay reader.

S. R. Sharma

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

1. *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1946-47.
The Earliest French Activities in Eastern Waters
By J. C. De. A.D. 1503 to 1665, from Madagascar to Sumatra. English, Spanish, Venetian and Dutch activities mentioned incidentally.

Maritime Traditions of Ancient Kerala

By K. R. Pisharoti. Mentions voyages between the West Coast of India and Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Alexandria from 3000 B.C., retaining old, doubtful identifications of Cottonara, Nelcynda, and Bacare. Colonies of Hindus in Indo-China & Sumatra, &c., are referred to, and a list of terms used in Malayalam, and relating to the sea, backwaters, or rivers, as well as to rafts, boats, or ships, is added.

2. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore City*, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 3 & 4, January and April 1947.

The Growth of the Independence of the Kāḍavarāyas

By K. S. Vaidyanathan. These Pallava Kāḍavarāyas of Kūdal, near Kānci, formerly under the Colas for four or five generations, became independent in about 1230 A.D.

3. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. V, No. 2, October 1947.

A New Interpretation of the Nataraja Concept

By O. H. de A. Wijesekera. Discusses "the possibility of the celebrated mystico-aesthetic symbolism of Nataraja being a historical development from the Rigvedic conception of a dancing Indra."

Some Points on Pali Literature

By A. P. Buddhadatta. Corrects certain errors in the books on Pali Literature by Prof. Geiger, Dr. B. C. Law, and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, published in 1937, 1933, and 1928.

4. *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, Vol. XV, Part III (March 1946), and Vol. XVI, Part I (Sept. 1946).

March 1946. Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla, Date of Accession Reconsidered

By N. Venkitaramanayya. "The initial date of his reign must be placed in A.D. (795-65) 730, and not in 726 as concluded

in his previous article in *JOR* VIII, pp. 1-8. "Instead of taking the reigns of Nandivarman II and his successors in a regular consecutive order, provision must be made for the partial coincidence of successive reigns."

March 1946 : Silappadikāram

By Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. Tamil Silappadikaram and Manimekalai, "the so-called twin-'epics' must have been composed later than this date," viz. 5th century A.D. of the Buddhist logician Ninnaga's *Nyayapravesa*. They are of the 8th century. But the synchronism of kings Senkuttuvan and Gajabahu, and the date of the 3rd Tamil Sangham, all three of the 2nd century A.D., remain unaffected.

Sept., 1946 : The Language of Ramacaritam (Malayalam)

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. This south Travancore work "has linguistic features neither so old as those of Kautaliyam nor so 'late' as those of Lilatilakam," which he assigns to the 14th century. He contends that "a frontier dialect or mixed Tamil-Malayalam speech cannot be traced anywhere." *Note*: Further study of old South Travancore works like Iravikkuttipillaiappor, which Tamil scholars do not regard as Tamil works, is a desideratum.

Sept. 1946 : Cultural History from the Periyapuramam

By Vid. M. Rajamanikkam Pillai. During the period of the 63 Nayanmars (circa 300-900 A.D.) the chief cultural centres were Tiruppadirippuliyur, Tiruvarur, Tiruvottur and Mylapore (all Jaina), Bodhimangai (Buddhist), and Kanci (Vaishnava, Saiva, Buddhist, and Jaina).

5. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XVI, Parts 2 & 4, September 1947, and January 1948.

Sept., 1947 : Illustrated Mss. of Bilvamangala's Balagopala-Stuti

By Dr. M. R. Majumdar. "Cumulative evidences tend to the identification of Lila Suka with the second Bilvamangala (of Kerala), and therefore his date might be the middle of the 13th century A.D.", as he was a favourite disciple of Madhvacharya, 1199-1295.

Sept. 1947 : Abolition of Persian as Court Language in British India (in 1837).

By Dr. J. K. Majumdar. It was done "more on political grounds than on the alleged economic one."

January 1948 : King Sudraka—An Historical Study

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 101

By Dr. B.A. Saletore (continued from July 1947 issue). Sudraka the dramatist was king Sivamara I (life, 625-725 A.D.) of the Ganga royal house; wrote the first four Acts; the rest was by his great-grandson Sivamara II (reign, 797-815).

6. *Adyar Literary Bulletin*, Vol. XI, Parts 1 to 3, Feb., May, and October 1947.

February 1947: *The Cradle of Indian History* (concluded).

By C. R. K. Charlu. It is necessary to begin the history of India or the Hindu race with the pre-Vedic patriarchal (i.e. prajapatya) period and carry the account through the Aditya-Deva period (of Indra, Agni, Yama, Vasu, &c.) and the Asuras, Danavas, &c., and the puranic dynasties, down to the Maurya period.

Feb. to Oct. 1947: *Origin and Spread of the Tamils*

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (continued in parts 2 & 3) "The Dravidian element is not to be found in Indian culture alone, but is largely traceable in Cretan, Aegean, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Polynesian and other cultures of the ancient world." (part 3).

7. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXVII, 1946, Parts III-IV, published 1947.

The Vikramaditya Problem

A fresh approach, by K. B. Vyas. Did Vikramaditya, king of Malwa, flourish in the middle of the 1st century B.C. or was he Chandragupta II, C. 400 A.D.? "The existence of a powerful ruler in Malwa (whom we conjecturally identify with the Vikramaditya of tradition) in the middle of the 1st century B.C.....is authenticated and confirmed by accepted contemporary history" and Jaina and Brahmanical traditions. He fell in a battle with Satavahana (Salivahana of the legends) about 28 B.C.

Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period (1200 B.C. to 500 B.C.) and in Ancient China in 1121 B.C.

By P. K. Gode. Vedic references are not detailed, but a Chinese text of 1121 B.C., English translation 1852, describes the manufacture of carriages in detail.

8. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, Dec. 1946; issued August 1947.

Presidential Address by Dr. A. S. Altekar. There is no doubt, the coins of the Indo-Bactrian series are extensively forged.

The only certain proof of genuineness would be their discovery in archaeological excavations in the appropriate strata.

New Discoveries, 1946: (1) Punch-marked coins bought from a coin dealer from Lucknow, with two new symbols—Arrow strung to the Bow, and knob with dots all round, (2) Hermaios-Kadphises I coins indicating that "We have to give up the view that those two rulers were contemporaries", (3) the Kasarwad (Ujjain) coins of the early centuries of the Xtian era, c. 200. (4) coins of the Sebaka or Andhra-Bhrtiya dynasty which flourished after the downfall of the Andhras, (5) a Satavahana coin of the new Kausikiputra Satakarni, (6) rare Indo-Sassanian coins with short cryptic legends in front of the face of the king, relating to Scuthern Rajputana in 7th-8th centuries, (7) a new hoard of Gupta gold coins in Bharatpur State.

"It is very urgent that the number of workers in medieval and south Indian coinage should increase considerably," says Dr. Altekar.

NOTE

A hoard of 120 coins (12 gold, and the rest silver) was discovered at Eyyāl in Cochin in 1945. "All the gold coins and more than half of the silver coins had impressions of the busts of early Roman emperors, with writings in Roman Script" (and not in English as in the case of JULIAN incised on the Travancore Elikkulam punchmarked piece noted on p. 359 of this *Journal*, 1947). "About 20 to 25 of the silver coins had punch marks on them, while a few were plain, carrying no marks or impressions at all," says the Cochin Government Archaeologist in his Annual Report for 1945-46, p. 2. The Roman gold coins are of Tiberius (8), Claudius, (1), Nero (2), and Trajan (1), photos of 5 of which he gives on Plate VI, with a description of all the 12 on p. 7.

9. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. VIII, No. I, January-June, 1947.*

Introduction to the Purana Pancalakshana, translated into English from Willibald Kirfel's book.

By P. V. Ramanujaswami—continued from the previous issue. Sarga, Pratisarga, Vamsa and other traditional lakshanas of the Puranas are dealt with the detail.

10. *Journal of the Pihar Research Society, Vol. XXXIII, Parts I and II, March-June 1947.*

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 103

Pushkari

By G. Ramadas.. Pushkari of the Puranas ; probably Purika the first seat of the Vakatakas under Pravara Sena I ; modern Podagadh in Umarkot Tama, Jeypore, is the site of ancient Pushkari, the capital of Kosala, the nucleus of the Maha Kosala.

Some Aspects of Mithila Culture

By Jaya Kanta Mishra. Before 1000 B.C. King Janaka's Mithila was the great centre of Vedic and Upanishadic lore—it was the age of Janakas and Yajnavalkyas. Then followed (1000 B.C. to 600 B.C.) the philosophers Gautama, Kanada, Jaimini, Kapila, and Vyasa. From 6th to 3rd century B.C. the town Vaisali became a renowned stronghold of Jaina and Buddhist Logic and Philosophy.

The India of the Greeks and Romans of B.C. 326 to 641 A.D.

By T. K. Joseph. During the period there were pseudo-Indias like Ethiopia and Arabia, called 'India' by nations other than Greeks and Romans. John Bp. of Asia, a West Syrian, 6 century, called Ethiopia India'.

See *JIH* (Trivandrum) for August 1947, pp. 175—187, for ancient Pseudo-Indias of the Persians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Byzantine Greeks, and Hebrews, and p. 44 *ante*, P.S. 2 for a Latin's pseudo-India, 345 A.D.

Some Images of Sarnath Museum

By Adris Banerji. Some images previously described under the generic term Avalokiteswara are more precisely identified as Khasarpana Lokeswara, Lokeswara being a variant of Avalokiteswara . "From about the 9th century Sarnath became a stronghold of Khasarpana worship, along with that of Tara."

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P. O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajamundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.

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The Bhṛguś and the Atharvans

BY

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Sâhityâchârya, Nagpur University, Nagpur

[The sages of the Atharva Veda (Śaunakīya) ; the Âṅgīrases ; the Atharvans ; the Bhṛguś ; the relation between the Atharvans and the Bhṛguś.]

I. *The Sages of the AVŚ :—*

The AV (IX. 23) mentions the name 'Atharvâṇaḥ' in a general way as applicable to all the sages of the Atharvan hymns. Sâyaṇa does not give the names of the sages in his commentary on the hymns of the AV. The Gopatha Brâhmaṇa gives the names of the three great sages—the Atharvans, the Âṅgīrases, and the Bhṛguś. In different editions of the AVŚ published at Ajmer and other places the names of the sages are not given. The Paippalâda Saṁhitâ has also no names of the sages. The Sarvânukramaṇis—both Br̥hat and Laghu—are our sole guides for information about the sages of the Atharvan hymns. Prof. Whitney in his translation of the AVŚ, has made use of these Sarvânukramaṇis in presenting the names of the sages and the deities of the Atharvan hymns. But whence could the Anukramaṇis get the names of these sages is an open question.¹

The sages of the R̥gvedic hymns that appear in the AV are taken from the Sarvânukramaṇis attached to the R̥gveda, but there too, the famous names of Vasiṣṭha and Gṛtsamada are absent. Only two hymns of the AV are attributed to Viśvâmitra and two to Kaśyapa. The AV (XVIII. 3.15-16) gives a list of the ancient sages of the Vedic fame. There are also seen many fictitious names in the list of the 'Atharvâṇaḥ'. Thus, for instance, "Apratiratha" (XIX. 13) ; "Babhrupiṅgala" (VI. 14) ; "Pramochana" (VI. 106) ; Praśochana" (VI. 104) ; "Garutman" (IV. 6 ; 7 ; V. 13 ; VI. 12 ; VII. 58 ; X. 4) seem to be imaginary. Even the sage "Nârâyaṇa" of the Puruṣa Sûkta (AV. XIX. 6=RV. X. 90) or "Sûryâ" of the Wedding Hymns (XIV) seem to be inventions

1. Winternitz : "History of Indian Literature", p. 58.
J. 1

suitable to the subjects of the hymns. In some cases the sages and the deities of the hymns coincide (II. 15; X. 2; IV. 35; VII. 112 etc.) 'The sage Atharvan has contributed the maximum number of stanzas to the collection.'² His name appears jointly with others also as Âtharvaṇa Vitahavya (VI. 136); Hymns on some particular subjects are ascribed to particular sages e.g. Kaṇva is the seer of the charms against insects (II. 31; 32); Bâdarâyana is the seer of the gambling stanzas; Atharvan of the funeral hymns³ etc.

The Vaitâna Sûtra (1. 3; 5. 13; 7. 16) gives Kauśika, Yuvan Kauśika, Bhâgali, Mâthara, Śaunaka and the general expression "Âchâryâḥ". But the Kauśika Sûtra in addition to this general expression mentions such worthies as Gârgya, Pârthaśravasa, Kâṅkâyana, Paribabhraṇa, Jâtikâyana, Kaurupaṭhi, Iṣuphâli, Devadarśa, as Atharvan teachers. The Atharvanic Upaniṣads frequently emphasize the authority of the Atharvan teachers as Sanatku-mâra, Âṅgirasa, Paippalâda, and others. The Viṣṇu Purâṇa⁴ mentions Śaunaka, Paippalâda, Âṅgirasa and others as the teachers of the AV. Such lists appear in the Skanda, Bhâgavata and other Purâṇas,⁵ in which appear prominently the names of Sumantu, Kabaṇḍha, Devadarśin, Śaunaka, Jâjali, Âṅgirasa etc. These names agree to a large extent with those given by Mahîdhara.⁶ The name Śaunaka is associated with the AVŚ and that of Paippalâda with the AVP. But among these sages of the AV. the oldest and the most closely interwoven with the charms and spells of the AV. are the three names—Atharvan, Âṅgirasa and Bhṛgu.

These three names—Atharvan, Âṅgirasa and Bhṛgu are connected with the Vedic fire-cult, with the hymns of the Atharvanic hymns and with the Vedic religion in general.

II. The Âṅgirases :—

Weber holds that Âṅgirases were of the Indo-Iranian period. They were the priests of that period.⁷ Macdonell regards them as beings higher than men and lower than gods, working as attend-

2. In the total of 6000 stanzas, nearly 2000 are contributed by the sage Atharvan.

3. For a complete list of the sages of the Atharvanic hymns see, C. V. Vaidya: "History of Sanskrit Literature". pp. 209-11.

4. Viṣṇu, III. 2. 56, 57.

5. Skanda. VI. 37; Vâyu. 60. 2-8.

6. Muir. OST. III. Appendix. p. 190.

7. Weber, Indische Studien. I. 291. ff.

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ants of Agni and moving between sky and earth.⁸ Agni is often called as Āṅgiras⁹ and even Indra is called the Chief of Āṅgiras-
ses.¹⁰ The Āṅgirasas are connected with Ādityas, Vasus, Maruts
and Rudras (XI. 8. 13).¹¹ They are invoked as gods and Soma
is offered to them.¹² They are particularly associated with Yama.¹³
They are friends of Indra from whom they obtained the gift of
immortality.¹⁴

They are the "Fathers" or "Our Fathers" or "Our Ancient
Fathers".¹⁵ They are Brahman priests.¹⁶ They found Agni hidden
in the woods and thought of first ordinance of Sacrifice.¹⁷ It is
by their sacrifice that they obtained friendship with Indra and
immortality from him. Bṛhaspati is Āṅgiras.¹⁸

There are many myths about them. They opened the stall,
drove out the cows and threw down Vala.¹⁹ They caused the sun
to mount the sky and spread out the mother earth.²⁰ They found
out the cows of Paṇis for Indra through Saramâ.²¹ Their quarrel
with the Ādityas is described in the Brâhmanas.²²

Āṅgirasas are regarded as semi-divine beings. They are called
the sons of heaven and sons of gods and are identified with Indra
and Agni, and associated with Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras and Yama.
But it can not be doubted that they were originally a real clan.
A single Āṅgiras was regarded as the ancestor and many Āṅgi-
rasas were the 'sons' or descendants. As the members of a real
clan they are called "Fathers" and associated with Atharvans
and Bhr̥gus (XI. 8. 13).²³ That they were actually a priestly

8. Macdonell. Vedic Mythology. p. 143.

9. RV. I. 75. 2; 31. 1; 127. 2; X. 92. 15.

10. RV. I. 100. 4; 130. 3.

11. RV. VII. 44. 4; VIII. 35. 14.

12. RV. III. 10. 62; 53. 7; IX. 62. 9.

13. RV. X. 14. 3-5.

14. RV. X. 62. 1.

15. RV. I. 62. 2; 71.2.

16. RV. VII. 42. 1.

17. RV. V. 11. 7; X. 67. 2.

18. RV. II. 23. 18; VII. 73. 1.

19. RV. I. 53. 3; VIII. 14. 8.

20. RV. X. 62. 3.

21. RV. X. 108. 8, 10.

22. SB. III. 5. 1. 13 ff.; AB. VI. 34; KB. XXX. 6; PB. XVI. 12. 1; GB.
II. 6. 14; JB. III. 187 f.

23. RV. X. 14. 6.

family is an accepted hypothesis.²⁴ Hillebrandt also suggests that they were originally a family but thinks that they fell outside the main Vedic tradition for sometime and when they again came into it, they carried with them their ancestors as semi-divine beings.²⁵ From the R̥gvedic references we are particularly impressed by the close connection of Āṅgirasas with Indra. Especially, in the feat of overthrowing Vala, the Āṅgirasas show so much strength and courage that for the time being Indra recedes into the back-ground. The finding of the cows of Paṇis is to be linked with the release of the cows from the stall of Vala. Another special feature of the Āṅgirasas is the finding of fire and establishing the ordinance of sacrifice.

The AV. brings to the forefront another speciality of the Āṅgirasas. In the Atharvan literature throughout and in the non-Atharvanic literature occasionally,²⁶ the term Āṅgiras is associated with "Hostile witchcraft". Even the designation of the AV. as "Atharvāṅgirasah" (X. 7. 20)²⁷ is to the effect of showing the two component parts of the Veda, viz., Śānta and Ghora (GB. I. 2. 18; Vai. Sūt. 5. 10; Kau. Sūt. 8. 16; 47. 12; 47. 2; 14. 30). The ritual texts affiliated to the AV. take the term Āṅgiras to mean "pertaining to hostile witchcraft or sorcery". Ghora Āṅgirasas is directly mentioned in the Vedic texts.²⁸ The Atharvan Saṁhitā decidedly exhibits the association of the term Āṅgiras with aggressive witchcraft. Thus we have "Kṛtyā Āṅgirasīḥ" (VIII. 5. 9), "Praticīna Āṅgirasah" (X. 1. 6) etc. In the R̥gvedic hymn about Saramā and Paṇis, Saramā threatens the Paṇis with the terrible Āṅgiras.²⁹ Bṛhaspati who is distinctly the representative Āṅgirasas is the divinity of witchcraft performances (Kau. Sūt. 135. 9). The functions of these divine Purohitas are stated in the AV :

Yadindra brahmaṇaspate 'pi mṛṣā carāmasi|
Pracetā na āṅgirasas duritātpātvaṁhasaḥ||
(VI. 45. 3)

Praticīna āṅgirasas 'dhyakṣo naḥ purohitaḥ|
Praticīḥ kṛtyā ākṛtyāmūn kṛtyākṛto jahi|
(X. 1. 6)

24. Weber: "History of Indian Literature". P. 31. Bloomfield. JAOS. XVII. 180-2.

25. Hillebrandt: "Vedische Mythologie". II. 159 ff.

26. Āp. Śr. X. 7. 1 ff; Śān. Śr. XVI. 2. 1. ff.; R̥gVidhāna. IV. 6. 2.

27. ŚB. XI. 5. 6. 7.

28. KB. XXX. 2; Āś. Śr. XII. 13. 1; Chā. Up. III. 17. 6.

29. "Indro vidurāṅgirasah ghorāḥ". RV. X. 108. 10.

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The Vedic texts, though they thus join Aṅgiras, with terrible witchcraft, are silent about the reason of bringing them together.³⁰

The two types of Aṅgirasas are mentioned in the RV. as Navagvas and the Daśagvas.³¹ The Navagvas are also called "Fathers" and they are also connected with the myth of Vala. The Navagvas and the Daśagvas are also said to have praised Indra, completed the sacrifice in ten months and released the sun from darkness. The Aṅgirasas are at times called as Virûpas.³² They are also the sons of heaven, of Agni. Of these sub-divisions of the Aṅgirasas, the Navagvas were probably the most important, for they are frequently called "the chief among the Aṅgirasas" (Aṅgirasamâ).

"Aṅgirasâm Ayana" is the yearly sacrificial session (Satra) of the Aṅgirasas. It is a modification of Gavâm Ayana.³³ Such annual Satras are mentioned in the Brâhmaṇas and Śrauta Sûtras and are the oldest of Vedic sacrifices. Such Aṅgirasâm Ayana or Aṅgirasâm Dvirâtra may be ceremonies invented by individual Aṅgirasas belonging to the great family of the Chief Aṅgiras.

III. The Atharvans :—

Atharvan is an ancient priest. About him, we come to know from the RV., that he rubbed Agni forth in a way which is followed by the others,³⁴ and this same Agni became the messenger of Vivasvat. He established sacrifices and extended paths³⁵ and produces the sun. He is Indra's helper.³⁶ He practised devotion along with Manu and Dadhyañcha.³⁷ The priests invoke goblin-destroying fire as Atharvan did.³⁸

The AV. tells us that Atharvan brought a cup of Soma to Indra (XVIII. 3. 45), received from Varuṇa a mystic speckled cow (V. 11; VII. 104). He is also said to dwell in heaven along with gods. (IV. 7. 1; XI. 6. 13) destroying goblins. The Atharvans destroy goblins with magic herbs (IV. 37. 7).

30. For a suggestion, see Bloomfield SBE. XLII. Intro. p. xxiv. note 3.

31. RV. X. 65. 5, 6.

32. RV. III. 53. 7; X. 62. 5. 6.

33. Āś. Śr. II. 7. 1; AB. IV. 17; TS. VII. 5. 1. 1-2.

34. RV. VI. 15. 17; 16. 3.

35. RV. I. 85. 5; X. 92. 10.

36. RV. X. 48. 2.

37. RV. I. 80. 16.

38. RV. X. 87. 12.

The Vedic references point out Atharvan both as a priest (when in singular) and family (when in plural), of divine rank. In the RV. the AV. and even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,³⁹ he appears as an ancient priest and teacher. The RV. mentions Br̥hatdiva Ātharvaṇa as a real poet.⁴⁰ Dadhyañcha was the son of Atharvan.⁴¹ He is also said to have kindled Agni and is counted among ancient sacrificers. He is connected with the myth of obtaining the cows. But of particular importance is the myth about Madhu. It is told that Dadhyañcha with the head of a horse declared Madhuvidyâ to Aśvins.⁴² Indra is also brought in this myth; for while searching for the head of the horse hidden in the mountains, he found it in Śaryanâvat and killed ninety-nine Vṛtras.⁴³ This myth of Madhuvidyâ is interpreted by Hillebrandt⁴⁴ as referring to the use of honey in the ritual by the Atharvans. Bergaigne identifies Dadhyañcha with Soma.⁴⁵ But the suggestion that Dadhyañcha is lightning-fire, the horse's head represents speed, the voice indicates thunder, the bones stand for thunder-bolt, is indeed very ingenious because it explains the connection of lightning with Soma, with Indra and with Agni.⁴⁶ In the later literature the Vedic Dadhyañcha Ātharvaṇa appears as Dadhîchi and the story of how Indra killed Vṛtra with the bones of Dadhîchi is reproduced in the Mahābhārata.

The name Atharvan appears in the title of the AV. and there it represents the auspicious side of the Veda. The word Atharvan in Atharvāṅgīrasa or Atharva-Veda refers to Bheṣajāni, Śānta or Pauṣṭika part of the Veda as opposed to the Āṅgīrasa part which stands for the terrible, hostile, Ghora and Abhichāra (XI.6.14).⁴⁷ The term Atharvan is so much identified with the auspicious side of the AV. that it is even extended to mild and healing plants (Vai. Sūt. 5.10; GB. I. 1.18). Bhiṣag Ātharvaṇa appears as a teacher in the Kāthaka Saṁhitā⁴⁸ and Śāṇyu Ātharvaṇa in the Gopatha (I. 2.18), and probably metaphorically Śānti is given as the name of

39. ŚB. XIV. 5. 5. 22; 7. 3. 28.

40. RV. X. 120. 9.

41. RV. I. 116. 12; 117. 22; VI. 16. 14.

42. RV. I. 84. 13. 14; 116. 12; 117. 22; 119. 9.

43. RV. I. 84. 13. 14.

44. Hillebrandt: "Vedische Mythologie" II. p. 174.

45. Bergaigne: "La Religion Védique" II. 456-60.

46. Macdonell: "Vedic Mythology". P. 142. Keith: "Religion and Philosophy of Veda" I. 225.

47. Śān. Śr. XVI. 2. 1. ff. Āp. Śr. X. 7. 1. ff. ŚB. XIII. 4. 3. 3. ff.

48. KS. XVI. 3 and also PB. XII. 9. 10; XVI. 10. 10.

the wife of Atharvan.⁴⁹ All this speaks of the connection of Atharvan with *Śânta*. The *Kau. Sût.* expressly states "*Atharvabhiih Śântâh*" (125. 2). The *Gopatha* narrates the fanciful creation of twenty Atharvan sages (I. 1. 5-8) corresponding, of course, to the twenty books of the AV. But it clearly asserts separate character of the Atharvans and the *Âṅgirasas* and associates the former with *Bheṣajam* (I. 3. 4). Thus originally the name Atharvan denoted "holy charms" which were either composed or seen by the mythical sage Atharvan or his descendants.

As pointed out before the connection of *Âṅgirasas* is with *Indra*. Similarly in the case of the Atharvans, they are seen to be closely associated with *Agni*. Their intimate connection with *Agni* is to be known from the meaning of their name (Atharvan-Atharyu-*Ātar*-fire); their special way of rubbing fire; their making *Agni*, a messenger to *Vivasvat* and many other facts.⁵⁰

IV. *The Bhr̥gus* :

Except a single reference, the name *Bhr̥gu* appears twenty-two times in the RV. in plural. Like the *Âṅgirasas* and the Atharvans they are connected with *Agni*, even etymologically (from *Bhr̥j-*to shine). *Bhr̥gus* found out *Agni* in waters;⁵¹ they established *Agni* among men.⁵² they got the gift of *Agni* from *Mātariśvan*;⁵³ they rubbed him and invoked him. They are mentioned as "Fathers" along with the Atharvans and the *Âṅgirasas*;⁵⁴ like them too, they are connected with the order of sacrifice. While Atharvan established rites with sacrifice, the *Bhr̥gus* showed themselves as gods with their skill.⁵⁵ The sacrificers speak of them as Soma-loving fathers and invoke *Agni* as the *Bhr̥gus* and the *Âṅgirasas* did.⁵⁶ The work of the *Bhr̥gus* consists mainly in discovering fire, lighting it up and taking care of it. The R̥gvedic references on account of their association with *Manu*,⁵⁷ *Yatis* (V. 19. 1) and *Praskanva*;⁵⁸ their mention as the enemies of *Sudâsa* along

49. *Viṣṇu*. P. I. 110, 200. *Bhâg*. P. III. 24. 24.

50. The Avestan word *Ātharvan* is derived from *Ātar*-fire as the Vedic word *Atharvan* is derived from *Atharyu*-flaming (fire, RV. VII. 1. 1.).

51. RV. X. 46. 2.

52. RV. II. 4. 6; I. 58. 6.

53. RV. I. 60. 1; III. 2. 4.

54. RV. X. 14. 6.

55. RV. X. 92. 10.

56. RV. VIII. 43. 13.

57. RV. VIII. 43. 13; X. 49. 6.

58. RV. VIII. 3. 9.

with Druhyûs and Turvaśas,⁵⁹ they appear to be the designation of a tribe of some historical character. It is also important to note that they are always called the chief of their tribe; are said to have gained their desires⁶⁰ and are mentioned in a proverbial way as the scarers of demons (Makha).⁶¹ Like the Ângirases and Atharvans they stand on equality with gods.⁶²

The AV. mentions Bhṛgu (singular) as the representative of a tribe (V. 19. 1).⁶³ In the Brâhmaṇas he is called the son of Varuṇa.⁶⁴ In the ritual literature there are clear references to real Bhârgavas and their practices of fire-piling and their mode of dividing of offerings. Like the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus are clearly associated with fire—the lightning-fire.⁶⁵ The Bhârgava family⁶⁶ with Bhṛgu at its head claims divine origin.⁶⁷ The Aitaśâyana Âjâneya are spoken of as the worst of Bhṛgus (Bhṛgunâm pâpiṣṭhâh).⁶⁸

In the AV. the Bhṛgus are mentioned only four times. One of these references (XVIII. 1. 58) is identical with a Rgvedic reference. Elsewhere (II. 5. 3) it is said that Indra clove Vala asunder as Bhṛgu conquered his enemies in the intoxication of Soma. In V. 19. 1 Śrījaya and Vaitahavyas are said to have perished because they insulted Bhṛgus.⁶⁹

Topheavy conclusions are derived by Emil Sieg from the two references in the RV.⁷⁰ where the Bhṛgus are referred to as waggon-builders. He believes that in these references is to be found the primitive nucleus of the legend i.e. Bhṛgu was originally merely a name for a "handicraftsman" and then connects this conclusion—that in the capacity of a worker with wood, Bhṛgu might have

59. RV. VII. 18. 6.

60. RV. VIII. 3. 16.

61. RV. IX. 101. 13.

62. RV. VIII. 35. 3; X. 92. 10.

63. AB. II. 20. 7.

64. TÂ. IX. 1; AB. III. 34. 1; PB. XVIII. 9. 1; ŚB. XI. 6. 1. 1; JB. I. 42; II. 202.

65. For the consensus of opinion on this point, see Macdonell: "Vedic Mythology" pp. 100, 141.

66. The Anukramaṇī to the RV. makes mention of the following Bhârgavas as the seers of hymns: Ita (X. 171), Kavi (IX. 47-49; 75-79), Kritnu (VIII. 79), Gṛtsamada (II. 1-3; 8-43; IX. 86; 46-48), Chyavana (X. 19), Janadagni (III. 62. 16-18; VIII. 101; IX. 62, 65, 67. 16-18; X. 110; 137. 6; 167), Nema (VIII. 100), Prayoga (VIII. 102), Vena (IX. 85; X. 123), Somâhuti (II. 4-7), Syûmarasmi (X. 77-78).

67. Nirukta-III. 17; Br. Devatâ V. 97. 100.

68. KB. XXX. 5.

69. In his article in the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics".

70. RV. IV. 16. 20; X. 39. 14.

naturally been the discoverer of fire by friction. But this conclusion is obviously based upon too much assumption. Equally bold is the suggestion⁷¹ that the Bhr̥gus were originally "Indids" (Dravidians.) Many such unacceptable (owing to their imaginary nature) theories have been put forward.⁷²

As a matter of fact the Vedic references do not tell us much about Bhr̥gu or Bhārgava, except that they were devoted to fire-cult, procured fire by friction, fought in the "Battle of Ten Kings", and came into conflict with Śr̥njayas and Vitahavyas, were very revengeful by nature and knew something of black magic. But it is from the Mahābhārata that we know much about the Bhārgavas.⁷³ In the Mahābhārata, they, as if, spring into prominence all of sudden. The great Epic is a veritable mine of Bhārgava materials and legends. The original nucleus of the Epic was only of 24,000 verses but the Bhārgava element raised the number to 1,000,000 verses and turned the Bhārata into Mahābhārata.

The great Epic gives divergent accounts of the births of Bhr̥gu and his descendants, repeats the legend of Bhārgava Paraśurāma time and again, relates the different legends of Bhārgavas such as Aurva, Dadhichi, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vitahavya, Chyavana, Uttāṅka, the cursing of Nahuṣa etc. From all these legends we come to know that:—

- (a) The Bhr̥gus were a clan of warlike Brahmans who had contracted matrimonial relations with the Kṣatriyas;
- (b) They were brave, arrogant, and of revengeful nature;
- (c) Their prowess depended equally on weapons and witchcraft;
- (d) and they were interested in Dharma and Nīti.

But it should be noted that the eminence of the Bhārgavas in the Epic is not without support from Vedic references, however

71. Dr. H. Weller: *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental R. Inst.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 262-302.

72. Von Schroeder (*Arche Religion* II. 486) sees in the story of Bhr̥gu hauteur and a visit to hell a faint echo of Prometheus legend. Weber ascribed Indo-germanic antiquity to Bhr̥gu-Vārūṇi and found affinity for Bhr̥gu with a similar Greek name. Kuhn tried to harmonize the Greek myth regarding the descent of fire with the Vedic.

73. Dr. V. S. Sukanthakar, "Epic Studies" VI—"The Bhr̥gus and the Bhārata". *Annals of BORI* XVIII. pp. 1-76.

rudimentary and faint it might be. Thus when we find in the Mahâbhârata Agni playing an important rôle in the Bhṛgu legends, we are reminded of the Vedic Bhṛgus and their fire-cult. The Chyavana-Aśvin legend given in the epic is directly traced in the RV. The witchcraft element⁷⁴ in the Bhārgava legends is directly based upon the connection of the Bhṛgus with the Atharva-Veda and the AV. V. 19. 1 is a sufficient reference to point out that the Bhṛgus had championed the cause of the Brahmans against the Kṣatriyas. Emil Seig even goes so far as to connect "Kesaraprabandhâ" (mentioned in V. 18. 11) with the episode of Jamadagni and Reṇukâ and identifies Vaitahavyas with the Haihayas.⁷⁵ But nothing especial is found in the Vedic literature to support the fondness of the Bhārgavas for Dharma and Nîti.⁷⁶

V. *The relation of the Atharvans and the Bhṛgus :—*

It is a very curious fact that the Vedic references⁷⁷ show frequent association of Bhṛgus with the Ângirases and rare with the Atharvans; and conversely of the Atharvans with the Ângirases and rarely with the Bhṛgus. "Bhṛgvaṅgirasah" and "Atharvâṅgirasah" are the titles of the AV. and both are found in the Atharvavedic as well as non-Atharvavedic texts. But nowhere is found the title in which Bhṛgu and Atharvan are compounded. The term Bhṛgvaṅgirasah is as a matter of fact more favourite with the Atharvan ritual texts (Kau. Sût. 63. 3; 94. 2-4; Vai. Sût. 1. 5; GB. I 1. 39; I. 2. 18) and the Pârîśiṣṭas. But this title is not found in the AV. Samhitâ proper. On account of these associations Prof. Bloomfield remarks: "The juxtaposition of Bhṛgu and Atharvan is decidedly rarer in this (Vedic) class of texts (e.g. Âp. Śr.

74. The revival of the dead by Bhārgava Śukra; the paralysing of the arm of Indra by Chyavana; the creation of the monster Maha, etc. fall clearly within the sphere of magic and witchcraft.

75. Mahâ-Bhâ. XIII. 30.

76. The Mahâbhârata has abounding evidence for this: Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya's discourses in over 51 chapters in the Âraṇya Parvan, Bhṛgu-Bhāradvâja-Saṁvâda in the Sânti Parvan (Chaps. 182-192), discussions between Bhārgava Śukra and Bali about various religious occasions, etc. The Manu Smṛiti is communicated by Bhṛgu and so it is called as the Bhārgava Samhitâ. According to Bhûler's computation 260 yss. from it are found in the Mahâbhârata.

77. Bhṛgu-Ângiras RV. VIII. 43. 13; Atharvan-Ângiras RV. XI. 8. 13. But see Bhṛgu-Atharvan RV. X. 14. 6 and also see TS. I. 1. 7. 2; MS. I. 1. 8; VS. I. 18; TB. I. 1. 4. 8; III. 2. 7. 6; ŚB. I. 2. 1. 13; Kâ. Śr. II. 4. 38; Âp. Śr. I. 12. 3; 23. 6; Nirukta V. 5.

IV. 12. 20), that of Bhr̥gu and Āṅgiras continues in the Mahābhārata and later".⁷⁸ But from this the conclusion he arrives at is that, "this collocation suggested to the Atharvavedins a mode of freshening up the more trite combination Atharvāṅgirasah".

Some Vedic references treat the names Atharvan, Āṅgiras and Bhr̥gu as if they were mere equivalents. Thus the Taittirīya Saṁhitā⁷⁹ mentions a Dadhyañcha Ātharvaṇa while the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa⁸⁰ gives a Dadhyañcha Āṅgirasa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁸¹ makes Chyavana both a Bhārgava and an Āṅgirasa. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa in its account of the creation of Atharvan sages tells us that the first Atharvan became Bhr̥gu (2. 3). The Chūlikā Upaniṣad⁸² makes a statement that the Bhr̥gus were the foremost among the Atharvans. This general synonymy of three names is thought of as owing to their common function of the production or service of fire. Hillebrandt's suggestion that the Bhr̥gus are a clan and the Atharvans its priests⁸³ is already rejected⁸⁴ on the ground of inadequate evidence.

We have already seen that the feats and achievements of the Āṅgirasas and Bhr̥gus have little that is common. Despite the fact that Bhr̥gus and Āṅgirasas are included in the "Ancient Fathers" and are connected with the cult of fire of the Indo-Āryans, the Bhr̥gus show certain clear distinctions of character from the Āṅgirasas. While the Āṅgirasas are essentially active in the business of finding of the cows or aiding Indra in breaking the stalls of Vala at least by their songs, the task of the Bhr̥gus is confined to the discovery of fire, its lighting up and its care. Moreover the Brāhmaṇas make Bhr̥gu the son of Varuṇa while the Āṅgirasas are closely associated with Indra. Again, the hostile witchcraft which is the special charge of the Āṅgirasas according to the AV. is nowhere brought in connection with the Bhr̥gus. Even the Mahābhārata references make the witchcraft of the Bhr̥gus more constructive and defensive. All this would merely suggest that the priestly families of Bhr̥gu and Āṅgiras were quite distinct but were brought into a close co-operation on account of their cult of

78. Bloomfield SBE. XLII. Intro. xxxvii. note 2.

79. TS. V. 1. 4. 4.

80. PB. XII. 8. 6.

81. ŚB. IV. 1. 5. 1.

82. Chū. Up. 10.

83. Hillebrandt: "Vedische Mythologie". II. 172 ff.

84. Keith: "Religion and Philosophy of Veda". p. 225.

fire, their use of magic and witchcraft and their relation with the hymns and charms of the AV.⁸⁵

But the relations between the Atharvans and the Bhr̥gus are pervaded by a sense of vagueness. We cannot definitely state why the association of the Bhr̥gus and the Atharvans became rarer and rarer from the R̥gvedic times downwards and why the AV. which was once Atharvāṅgirasah became later on Bhr̥gvaṅgirasah, i.e. Bhr̥gu should take the place of Atharvan. It is also a noteworthy fact that the term Bhr̥gus is in general in plural which suggests that they formed a group or class, and that Bhr̥gu in singular as the representative or originator of the Bhr̥gu clan or tribe is a later invention for the Atharva-vedic references such as : "Bhr̥guṁ himsitvā" (V. 19. 1) or "Bhr̥gur na sasahe śatrūn" (II. 5. 3) are only too general statements. The Mahābhārata references too, as the references in the Brāhmaṇas show a marked divergence in giving the accounts of the creation of the first Bhr̥gu. This, therefore, may mean that the tribe of the Bhr̥gus formed originally a branch of some other class of priests, for example, that of the Atharvans. It has been pointed out in connection with the Āṅgirasas that Navagvas, Daśagvas and Virūpas were some of the types or branches among them ; it is then not unlikely that Bhr̥gus were a type or branch of the Atharvans and were foremost among them. Even in such a rare R̥gvedic passage where the Bhr̥gus are said to be remembered with the Atharvans as for example :⁸⁶

Āṅgirasō naḥ pitaro navagvā atharvāṇo bhr̥gavaḥ somyā-
sah|

Teṣāṃ vayam sumataḥ yadñīyānāmapī bhadre saumanase
syāma||

Te hi prajāyā abharanta vi śravo brhaspatirvṛṣabhaḥ soma-
jāmayah|

Yajñairatharvā prathamō vidhārayaddevā dakṣair bhr̥gavaḥ
saṁ cikitrire||

there is nothing to contradict the suggestion that the Bhr̥gus were a type or the Atharvan family as the Navagvas were of the Āṅgirasas. On the other hand, the latter passage, "While Atharvan established rites with sacrifice, the Bhr̥gus showed themselves as

85. This accounts for the special facilities enjoyed by those belonging to Bhr̥gu and Āṅgiras Gotras in marriage.

86. RV. X. 14. 6. RV. X. 92. 10.

gods with their dexterity" gets a new light in view of the relation between the Atharvans and Bhr̥gu.

If we were to hold that the Bhr̥gu were a type of the Atharvans, the reference from the Gopatha Br̥hmaṇa and that from the Ch̥ulikā Upaniṣad can reasonably be interpreted. And we can also justify the appearance of the term Bhr̥gu in place of the term Atharvan in the title of the AV. viz. Bhr̥gvangirasah which is particularly mentioned in the Atharvan ritual texts. The association of the Atharvan and Aṅgiras which is frequent in the Vedic texts and the regular association of the Aṅgirasas and the Bhr̥gu in the post-Vedic literature and especially in the Mahābhārata do not conflict in any way. As the custodians of the AV, magic and witchcraft were the special weapons of the Aṅgirasas and the Bhr̥gu.

It seems that in the post-Vedic period the Bhr̥gu came into prominence, not all of a sudden but gradually. In the AV. the Bhr̥gu are mentioned only four times and the RV. mentions them only twenty-two times. In singular and plural the terms Atharvans are mentioned several times in the AV. and the RV. From these mere numbers of references we can think that in the Vedic period the Atharvans enjoyed fame and greatness which was later on transferred to the Bhr̥gu. The Bhr̥gu came out in their full glory in the Br̥hmaṇa period and in the days of the great Epic. Mahābhārata is almost the Bhr̥gu recension, in which the Atharvans come as a mere distant echo. This looks like a clear indication of Bhr̥gu completely eclipsing the original and the main stock—the Atharvans. This would also account for the statement in the Mahābhārata that there were only four Mūlagotras—Bhr̥gu, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha⁸⁷ and why the name Atharvan is missing in the lists of Gotra and Pravara Ṛsis and in the lists of the Sapta Ṛsis.

87. Catvāri kulagotrāṇi samutpannāni bhārata |
Aṅgiraḥ Kaśyapaścaiva Vasiṣṭho Bhr̥gureva cha ||—Śānti. 296.

Ports and Marts of Malabar (A.D. 50-150)

(Some new identifications)

BY

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Trivandrum

The ports and marts on or near the sea coast of Malabar, and the rivers and mountains mentioned in the *Periplus* and *Tabula Peutigeriana*, and by Pliny and Ptolemy have already been identified by European and Indian scholars. But some of their identifications appear to be mistaken. New identifications are therefore suggested in these brief notes, based on intimate knowledge of the locations of those places.

In the list below the names of the works are given in brackets first, and the localities are arranged from North to South—from Leuke Island to Cape Comaria. The Pirates' region (*Periplus*), or "Ariake Andron Pieraton" (Ptolemy) was beyond Malabar, and is not therefore included in the list.

1. (*Periplus*) : "Leuke Is." = *Lacca*—dive Is., 11°30' N., 72°5' E., near the coast"; Long. 118, Lat. 12, according to Ptolemy's computation, not always reliable. "Lakka", unintelligible to the peripluser and Ptolemy, was probably construed by them as Greek Leuke = white. Other instances of such alteration will be found below (Nos. 12, 15).

2. (*Periplus*) : "Naura" = *Caṇṇa-nūru*, briefly *Caṇ-nūru*, English Cannanore. Naura was a market in Damirika, the Tamil-ic region then comprising the present Malayalam areas of trans-Cochin Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, and the present Tamil areas beyond Cape Comorin. See No. 16.

Damirika, the correct form of "Limyrike", &c., seems to be the North Indian Prakrit *Damila*, rather than South Indian *Tamil*, plus the Greek ending *ike* as in *Mousa*, *Mous-ike* (music, noun), although *Tamil-akam* (=Tamil land) has been given by some authors as the original. North Indian guides in Greek ships may

have given the Greeks the Prakrit forms of even South Indian names.

3. (*Periplus*): "Tundis, or Tyndis in the kingdom of Keprobou(th)rou" (=Chēra-putra), in Damirika above. This is Kaṭal-tuṇṭi, vulgo Kaḍaluṇḍi. (*Ptolemy*): "Tyndis, a city in Limyrike". Kaṭal-Tuṇṭi = raised land (near the) sea.

4. (*Ptolemy*): "Bramagara", probably Parappanangāḍi.

5. (*Ptolemy*): "Kalaikarias", Chālakkuḍi, as most scholars agree. Ch of Tamil of the first centuries became K as in Chera-Kero in No. 3. Tamil ṭ, cerebral (as well as Tamil ḷ) was represented in Greek by r. (Ⲙ, ϣ, ϣ, ϣ, = Gk. r).

6. (*Periplus*): "Muziris" on a river in the above Chera kingdom. This is in Cranganore territory, and was a river-port near the present town Cranganore. Muziris may be under water now. Tamil form, Muciri, Muśiri (முசிரி). There was a Musiris in Cappadocia. Was that name imported to Cranganore? (*Ptolemy*): "Mouziris" emporium near the mouth of Pseudostomos, the Periyār River—"20 stadia" (= 2 miles) "up the river from the shore", says the *Periplus* (60 A.D.).

7. (*Ptolemy*): Mouth of the river *Pseudo-stomos* (= false mouth), which is probably a Greek translation of Tamil *poḷi-mukam* (= a breach in the sand bar), vulgo *poḷi-mukam* (= false mouth).

8. (*Ptolemy*): "Podoperoura", probably Vaṭapaṭavūr (வடபுடபுர). North Paravur). Coins of Augustus, B.C. 39-14 A.D., and of some other Roman emperors were dug up in North Paravur (vulgo Paṭūr) about 20 years ago, and identified at the Madras Museum.

9. (*Ptolemy*): "Semne", probably Chemmanad, a little east of the eastern edge of the backwaters south of Musiris, No. 6. If it be Semve it may be Chempu, on the eastern shore of the backwaters. (Gk. n and u are almost alike).

10. (*Ptolemy*): "Koreoura", probably Kāṭṭūru south of the better known Mārārikkūḷam, west of the backwaters. The first r stands for Tamil ṭ, as in Kalaikarias, No. 5. If K be a misreading of T, it may be 'Toreoura', Toṭavūru (correctly, Tuṭavur) near Kāṭṭūr, above.

11. (*Periplus*): "Barakē, Bakarē, market-town and village at the mouth of a river. (*Pliny*): "Becare---- a port in the territory of the people called Neakyndi," No. 13 below. (*Ptolemy*): "Bakareī"

in Limurike, at or near the mouth of the river Baris. This is Purakkātu, 10 miles south of Alleppey harbour. *Vulgo* Prakkātu. So the Greek form may have been Barakē, or *Brakare*; or if the North Indian guides pronounced it without the first *r* (as in the case of Dramida-Damila) it may have been *Bakare* in Greek. The Latin Pliny's Becare represents the common pronunciation Perakkātu (with *e* for *u*). Perhaps some took ātu as the suffix *ad* found in Naiad, Dryad, &c., and omitted it. The Portuguese, Dutch and English called it Porka, without, of course, any knowledge of the Greek form Barakē devoid of *ad*.

12. (*Ptolemy*): Mouth of the river "*Baris*", which is, no doubt, the Pampā River of Central Travancore. Since Gk. *baris* means boat, it was the boat-river. And Pliny (VI. 26) says that "pepper is carried down to Becare in boats hollowed out of a single tree", which are even now in vogue. Or, *Baris* may be regarded as an intelligible (see *Leuke*, No. 1) Greek form of the latter half of the long Tamil name Pam-paiyāru (= Pampā river). Paiyāru—Baiyāru—Baiyāris—*Baris*.

13. (*Periplus*): "*Nelkynda*", market-town of leading importance (like Muziris) up the river above, and in the Pandyan kingdom, and not in the Chera kingdom. (The Pampa river was then the boundary). It was 120 stadia (=12 miles) up the river. (*Ptolemy*): "*Melkynda*", in the country of the Aioi, the Ay chiefs under the Pandyan king ruling from distant Madura on the east coast. (*Pliny*): "*Portus gentis Neacyndon*", variant readings being Neacrinon, Neachyndon, amended recently as Nelcyndon. (*Tabula Peut.*): "*Nincyllda*". See Schoff's *Periplus*.

This Pandyan market-town of leading importance rivalling the Chera's Muziris is Nākkiṭa, about 13 miles ("120 stadia") up the river Pampa, from Purakkad, No. 11, where the river fell into the sea in ancient days as geological evidence shows, although it does not do so now.

A coin of Augustus was picked up from Nākkida, or Niranam very near it, some years ago. Roman gold coins were discovered also in Chengunnūr, the present writer's place, further up the same river in about 1898, or 1900, and sold to Dr. Thurston of the Madras Museum in about 1900 (between 1898 and 1904). One of the unsold coins, which I saw on 1st September 1947, was of gold, with the legends quite worn away. The owner said it was of Theodosius, and that the hoard contained Augustus coins also. I

Rānni too, further up the same river, Roman coins are said to have been discovered. The *Periplus* (§56) says, "There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin; topaz, --- crude glass, --- wine, not much ---. There is exported pepper --- produced --- in --- Cottonara". This applies to Muziris and Bakare—Neakinda. Theodosius I (379-395); II (408-50).

The Tamil poems speak of the import of *ponnu* to Muziris, which is probably gold coin, although *ponnu* (பொன்னு) has also the sense of gold. In the first century the Roman gold coins *aureus* and *denarius* were current throughout Western India from the Indus to the Cape, and *denarius* gave Sanskrit and the old Malabar language the word *dināram* (a gold coin) found in a Travancore inscription. Augustus coins were far anterior to the date (60 A.D., according to Schoff) of the actual voyage of the author of the *Periplus* written later (c. 75, or 80, or 90).

The new identification Nākkida can be taken as correct. Neakydda, or Neakylida may have been the original form in the peripluser's note book of 60 A.D. in Greek capital (uncial) letters of that age. $\ddot{\tau}$ of Nākkiṭa was represented in this case in Greek by *ld* or *dd*, and not by *r* as usual. He ought to have written Neakyra.

Nākkiṭa (*vulgo* Nākkēṭa, with *e* for *i*) means the space between (two or more) tongues, i.e. branches, of the river Pampa. The place still answers to the first century description, because the Pampa River bifurcates there. Another river called the Manimala river joins the northern branch a little below the point of bifurcation, and the river Achankōvil joins the southern branch a few miles below the same point. In the first century too those three rivers probably met at Nākkiṭa (in English Nakkida), and pepper could be brought to that "market-town of leading importance", in "single-log boats" from "Cottonara", No. 14 below.

14. (*Periplus*): "Kottonarikē", a "district" near the two important market-towns Muziris and Nakkida, in which "region" alone pepper is produced in quantity" (§56). Pliny was quoted already in No. 12. Ptolemy does not mention this region or district, but most of his "inland" localities (which are not dealt with in the present notes) between the Periyar and Pampa Rivers can be identified in that region of pepper, where reigned "the Queen of Pimenta" (the Pepper—Queen) in the days of the Portuguese (1498—1663).

PORTS AND MARTS OF MALABAR

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Corresponding in sound to Cottonara (*tt* pronounced somewhat like double *th* of English, and not like *tt* in letter) there are (1) between Muziris and Nakkida (i.e. between the rivers Periyar and Pampa of Travancore), (2) above, i.e. to the north and north-east of it, and (3) in the region adapted to the growth of pepper "in quantity", the names of the following places:—

(a) Tekkum— and Vaṭakkum— (= Southern and Northern) —*Kūrṛanāṭu*, in the latter of which was "the Pepper—Queen", mentioned above.

(b) *Korranāṭu*, a few miles above Nakkida. This is very nearly "Cottonara", *c* being=*k*, and *r*=*t*.

(c) *Kaṭanāṭu*, north of Kottayam in Travancore; a small, old principality.

(d) Two or three *Kūrṛanāṭus* north and south of Kottayam.

(e) *Kuṭṭuvanāṭu*=the land of the Kuṭṭuvan, the Chera King, which may be the same as the *Kuṭṭam* (—*nāṭu*) mentioned in Tamil grammars as one of the several lands in which a dialect of pure Tamil was spoken.

In the days of the *Periplus* (60), Pliny (23—79), and Ptolemy (c. 150), and even later there were Chera Kings with the title of Kuṭṭuvan (c. 75—230, according to Sesha Aiyar's *Cera Kings*, 1937, p. 128).

Any one or more of the above names (a to e) may be taken as the original of "Cottonara" as the localities are (and presumably were in the early centuries) in pepper areas.

Below Nakkida, and in a region *not suitable* for the production of pepper "in quantity", there is the water-logged region Kuṭṭanāṭu, famous for paddy and coconut trees. This does not appear to be Cottonara although there are pepper-growing highlands close to it, in the east. Kuṭṭam, Tamil, means depth, and Kuṭṭanāṭu is deep, low-lying, land almost always covered with water.

15. (*Periplus*): "*Purron Oros*" (*Mountain*)=the dark-red mountain. This is the Travancore Ghats, called (a) Pūrva Parvata (Skt.), (b) Kilakkan Mala (Malayalam), or (c) Sahya Parvata (Skt.). The names (a) and (b) mean eastern mountain, while (c) Sahya, although it has the sense of endurable, must be the Sanskritised form of some Tamil name, probably *Cheyya* (செய்ய) meaning red. So *Purron* (Gk.) may be a translation of *cheyya* (red, with the rays of the rising sun). Or it may be a Graecized

form of the above Pūrva (a). This eastern mountain range must have presented a very striking spectacle to the Greek mariners, especially at dawn. It may be Ceñ-kunram=red-hill of Tamil *Silappatikāram*.

16. (*Periplus*) : "*Paralia*"=sea-coast. This must be the littoral "district stretching along the coast towards the south" from the southern end of the district of Damirika, which the author seems to have regarded as ending at Baḡare (Purakkad). Ptolemy's Limyrike (Gk. Δ for \triangle) too extended from somewhere north of Kadalundi (near Calicut) down to the mouth of the Pampa, i.e. to Bakare itself.

Paralia (=coast) district of the *Periplus* stretched from Purakkad down to Cape Comorin, and further on to Kolkai (*Colchi* of the *Periplus*) on the S.E. coast, and to Point Calimere (*Kaḷḷimētu*) further north of Cape "Kory" (*Dhanush-kōṭi*). But the peripluser, who does not appear to have come far south of Bakare, supposed that even from the Cape to Kolkai or Kory the *paralia* (coast) extended *southwards*! This mistake, to be sure, is not more egregious than that of Ptolemy whose notion was that the coast of India up to Kory stretched from *west to east*!!

Kalidasa, and other North Indian authors too had the wrong notion that the southernmost point of India was Kory (*Dhanush-kodi*), and that the "Malaya" mountain of the Nilgiri region, extended up to Kory, whence began Rama's *Setu* (Adam's Bridge). See *JIH* (1947), pp. 263—67. The *paraliā* of the *periplus* was divided into two sections by the Purrrhon Mountain, No. 15.

Ptolemy's "*paralia*, properly so called", was the broad, mountainless Chola (Coro)—mandal coast mentioned under the Greek heading :

"*Tēs idiōs kaloumenēs paralias Tsōringōn*"

which means 'In the properly called seacoast of the Chola (Tsora) king' (*kōn*, Tamil). Some recent interpreters wrongly regarded *paralia* of the above heading as a place-name, while some Christian writers other than St. Isidore of Seville (died 636), seem to have mistaken Kalournenes (=called), which in some Greek mss. has wrong forms *kaloumaines*, etc., as a place-name *Kalaminē* (Latin *Calamina*), the name of the coast where St. Thomas was, from about 1,200 A.D., said to have been martyred. See Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, pp. 150—170. See P.S. 2 at the end for Dr. Henning's note, which may lead to the rejection of the long-

accepted reading '*paralia*'. Isidore's Calamina, a town of India (N.W.), was "in the furthest eastern parts of the land of the Parthians and the Medes", and not of India, or the world.

17 (*Periplus*) : "*Balita*", "village and fine harbour", the first in *paralia*", No. 16. There is Tiru—*Vallattu* on the sea near Trivandrum. Tiru, Tamil, meaning prosperous (Skt. Śrī), is no essential part of the place-name. If the name be Balina (with *n* for *t*), it may be identified with the wellknown port of Viliñam, south of Trivandrum. Tamil inscriptions have the form Viliñam. In later European records it appears as Brins-john, etc.

18. (*Ptolemy*) : "*Elangkor*, or *Elangkon*". If Greek Λ here was originally Δ , the name is the latter half of Tiru—*Etāṅkōṭu* (split form of Tiruvetāṅkōṭu, correctly with *vi* for *ve*). This is Travancore of the Portuguese records, which had been pronounced as Trāvāṅkōṭe before it came to be pronounced as Trāvancour in English. It was the ancient capital of the Travancore State, which got its name from that city, N.W. of Kottar, No. 19. R in Edangkor stands for *ṭ*.

19. (*Ptolemy*) : "*Kottiarā*", the metropolis. This is Kōṭṭār as all agree, and does not seem to be another place near it called Kōṭṭāram.

20. (*Ptolemy*) : "*Bammala*". This is Marut-Vāmala, a conspicuous hill near No. 19. This *mala*, hill, is visible from ships.

21. (*Periplus*) : "*Comari*", with "cape and harbour". No harbour there now. (*Ptolemy*) : "*Komaria*", a cape and town in the country of the Aioi, in the then Pandyan kingdom. It now belongs to Travancore. As Malabar ends here, Colchi (=Kolkai, and not Colachal), Kory, etc. beyond it are not considered here.

Of the above 21 identifications Nos. 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20 are mine own. They are probably correct. Kosmas' five marts of "Male" (two syllables) that export pepper, viz. Parti, Mangarouth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Poudopatana (c. 535), do not appear among the above 21.

Postscript 1

In addition to the Roman coins mentioned above, and those discovered and dealt with by Sewell, Rapson, and others, there were unearthed in Cochin, in 1946, "Indian (or local ?) punch-marked silver coins (about 25) with dated gold and silver Roman coins (about 100), discovered (September 1946) from Eyyāl, a

village on the high-way between the ancient emporiums of Tyndis and Muziris, indicating the first impact of the Roman civilization with Cochin—circa first century A.D.”—Page V of *Exhibits in the Archaeological Museum, Cochin, 1947*. The above Roman gold coins are of Tiberius (8), Claudius (1), Nero (2), and Trajan (one). The others have yet to be identified.

Again, about August 1945, on a hill near Ponkunnam in the pepper-region between the two rivers on which Muziris and Bakare—Nelcynda were situated, a hoard of 188 (or 184 ?) punch marked silver-alloy pieces, somewhat like coins, were dug up by a cultivator from a depth of 1½ ft. They are thin, and not circular. Of the six cleaned pieces examined on 17th December 1945 by the present writer, one had the English name JULIAN incised near the margin on one side in capital letters like the modern English capitals, and not Roman capitals of the early centuries. This JULIAN does not seem to be the Roman emperor Ivlianvs, for there is no —us (nominative), or —i (genitive), or any sign of abbreviation after JULIAN, even though there is space for it after N. Besides, the letters, are plain and are not embossed. In Latin it is IVLIANVS.

Postscript 2

As for paralia (No. 16 *supra*) Dr. W. B. Henning of Cambridge, in a note kindly sent to me on 3rd March, 1948 through the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, says:—

“Paralia is uncertain. MS. has:—Apo de
Bakarēs to legomenon purron oros
allē parēke chōra tē kēs ē
paradia legomenē.”

(a) If Paradia be the original reading of the *Periplus* it may be interpreted as a Graecised form of Pavaḷa-dīpa (=the pearl region), the North Indian guide's Prakrit form of Sanskrit Pravāla-dvīpa, or a form of Tamil Pavaḷa-tīvu (பவழதீவு). Here dīpa (=tīvu, தீவு) has the sense of littoral region as in Saka-dvīpa (the Sakas' region, the estuary of the Indus), Jambu-dvīpa, etc.; and the unfamiliar ḷ of the northerner, or ḷ of the Tamilian of the first century is represented in Greek Paradia by r. Tamil Pavaḷa-tīvu sounds more like Paradia than the Prakrit Pavaḷa-dīpa, v being elided from Pavaḷa. The Tamil name (பவழதீவு) could appear in Greek as Pavara-dia, without elision, or Para-dia, with

elision of v. Diu, the European name of the island south of Kathiawar is from Dīpo of Prakrit, perhaps the "Dibous", or "Divus" of Theophilus the Indian (372 A.D., *apud* Ammianus Marcellinus).

(b) Alternatively Para-dia (Greek) may stand for the Tamil name Parava-tēyam (பரவ-தேயம்), =Paravas' region (dēśa in Sanskrit). Parava is the pearl-fishing caste of South India, and in Portuguese and Dutch records (since 1500 A.D.) the S.E. coast is called the Pearl-Fishery Coast, as distinct from the Coromandal further north. Ptolemy calls this coast Paralia *properly* so called, perhaps hinting that the author of the Periplus had, a hundred years before, applied the name improperly to the S. W. coast also, where there was no pearl-fishery in those days.

(c) Is it likely that paradia was coined by combining the Greek prefixes *para* (=beyond), and *dia* (=through, across) to sound like the above Prakrit or Tamil word? It may be observed that the Arabic name Maabar for that region contains the senses of *para* and *dia*. Some medieval writers seem to have called this region, rather than Ceylon, "Para-dise", Parava-deśa.

The Date of Tirumangai Ālvār

BY

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Of all the Vaishṇava Saints and propagators of that faith, Tirumangai Ālvār occupies the foremost place in that his outpourings contain numerous references which aid us in fixing his date and contemporary events. His hymns and the data given by the Guruparampara, confirm the contemporaneity of Tirumangai Ālvār and Tiru Gñānasambandar, the Śaivite Nāyanār.¹ It is evident from these that the long life of Tirumangai Ālvār and of Gñānasambandar must be located between the time of Paramēswara Varman I, the Pallava King (675 A.D.) and Pallava Malla (770 A.D.).

It appears a matter beyond doubt that this Ālvār lived as a feudatory of Pallava Malla. This is borne out by the hymns of the Ālvār and by a grant bearing on this subject.

The reference is to the copper plates of Pattathān Mangalam² consisting of five copper plates discovered in Tiruturaiṇḍi Taluk (Tanjore District, Madras Presidency). The first part of the grant is in Sanskrit and the second part in Tamil. It refers to the donation of sixteen 'vēlis' of land in Nalkūr, on the southern bank of Kāvēri in Ārvalikkurṇam³ in old Brahma dēsa, to the orthodox Brahmins of the place by Mangala Nādālvān at his wish and by order of Ālappākka Vijaya Nallūran and with the consent of Kō Vijaya Nandi Vikrama in his sixty first year. It is clear that the Pallava King referred to is no other than Nandivarman Pallava II as the grant refers to Kō Vijaya Nandi Vikrama Varman, as the son of Hiranya Varman in his sixty-first year. It will be wrong to make out that the reference is to Nandivarman III as there are

1. See Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar Commemoration Volume: The contemporaneity of Saints Tirumangaiyār and Gñānasambandar, pages 201-211. See also 'The Age of Ālvārs' by Prof. M. Raghava Iyengar, Pages 84-153.

2. See 'Sen Tamil', Vol. XXIII, Page 193.

3. 'Tenkarai' means 'south of Kāvēri'. Ārvalikkurṇam is within Tiruthuraiṇḍi Taluk and its present name is 'Arivalam'.—See 'Sen Tamil', Vol. 23, Page 193—Footnote.

no inscriptions which go beyond his thirty-first year. On the other hand the Tamil portion of this inscription refers to two grants, in the fifty-first year and in the sixty-first year, made by Mangala Nādālvān to several Brahmins of Nalkūr with the consent of Nandi Varman I.

The Sanskrit portion of the copper plate contains eleven slokās. The first two invoke the blessings of Viṣṇu for the benefit of the donees. It is clear from the slokās that the donor Mangala-nādālvān was a true Viṣṇu Bhakta. The other nine slokas recite the glories of Pallava Kings from Brahmā to Hiranya Varma, of his son Nandi Varma Pallava Malla, and of Mangalanādālvān who was the feudatory and vassal of this great Pallava overlord. It runs as follows :

“He is Nandi Varman's servant, a noble man, the abode of virtues and devotion, warrior, a great man, respected by good men, a man who valued his honour as his wealth, a man with glory in all quarters, a donor who gave liberally to Brahmins after intimating to the King. Such a man was the lord of the Mangala Rājya. The grant of this Pallava Vassal is in perpetuity, i.e., as long as Earth, Water, Moon and Sun exist”.

We have now to consider the information about the qualities of this vassal. It is clear from the references in the grant to ‘Mangala Rājya’ and ‘Mangala Nādu’ that the area under him was called “Mangalam”. Along with this, the grant refers to Ārvalik-kūṟṟam on the south bank of Kāvēri. This Kūṟṟam must have been included in Mangala Nādu.

Tamil scholars know full well that ‘Mangalam’ is another name for ‘Mangai’. This is evident from the currency of the names Varaguṇa Mangai and Sīvaramangai for Varaguṇa mangalam and Sīvaramangalam. This Mangalam⁴ or Mangai Nādu is adjacent to Āli Nādu which belonged to Tirumangai Ālvār. If so, it may be fruitful to compare the names Mangala Nādālvān and Tirumangai Ālvār. It is remarkable that there is great similarity between the grants and the Periya Tirumoli in the description of the ‘Guṇas’ of the person bearing both these names.

“வாட்டிற்றூனை மங்கையர் தலைவன்”—The lord of Mangai-yār, the host of warriors with swords. (Periya Tirumoli, 10, 9, 10).

4. In Tiruthuraipūndi Taluk there is a village by name ‘Mangal’. Perhaps this is after that “Mangalam”.

THE DATE OF TIRUMANGAI ĀLVĀR

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“கற்றூர் பரவும் மங்கையர் கோன்”—The lord of Mangai honoured by the learned (Periya Tirumoli, 5, 1, 10).

“பொய்ம்மொழியொன்றில்லாத மெய்ம்மையாளன்.....”—A man of truth without any trace of falsehood (Periya Tirumoli, 6, 6, 10).

“அருண்மாரி”—The person whose bounty is torrential. (Periya Tirumoli, 3, 4, 10; 4, 2, 10; 8, 6, 10.)

“மானவேற் கலியன்”—Kaliyan who has honour as his weapon. (Periya Tirumoli, 2, 7, 10).

“பாணிந்த தொல்புகழான் கலியன்.....”—Kaliyan whose fame was spread over the earth. (Periya Tirumoli, 4, 4, 10).

“அலைநீருலகுக் கருளேபுரியும் காரார் புயற்கை கலிகன்றி” Kalikanri whose grace was spread over the earth like the rain-laden clouds spread over the earth bounded by the oceans. (Periya Tirumoli, 3, 2, 10).

These qualities mentioned in the Periya Tirumoli are more or less similar to those of the grants. The word ‘Kaliyan’ is used to mean a “warrior”.⁵ In this connection it is worthy of note that one of the Commanders-in-Chief of Parāntaka Chōla I is called Arulnidi Kaliyan, similar to that of our generous Kaliyan (Tirumangai Ālvār). The word ‘Kali’ in Tamil will also refer to ‘valour’.⁶ (Kali Kanri—one who is ripe in valour. The word ‘veeraha’ in the grant must be taken to refer to Kaliyan. Similarly the common references

1. “பாணிந்த தொல்புகழான்”—ஸ்வகீர்த்தி விபவவியாப்த அகில ஆசாந்தர :
2. “கற்றூர் பரவும் மங்கையர் கோன்”—ஸதாம் மான :
3. “மானவேற் கலியன்”—மான தன :

and other personal references made by the Ālvār in the grant show the identity of Mangala Raja with this Ālvār.

The grant refers to him as ‘Pallava Brtya’ showing his position as vassal. That he spent his early years in the service of this King is shown by Periya Tirumoli (1, 9, 7) in which he deplores in his old age the bad deeds he had committed when young in the service of others.⁷ This is confirmed by references to himself and

5. “மானவர் வீரர் கலியர் தானேத்தருகணுள் பெயரே”. —Divākaram.
6. Vaishnavās would expound a different meaning to the name “Kaliyan”.
7. “தெரியேன் பாலகனுய்ப் பல தீமைகள் செய்துமிட்டேன் பெரியே னுயினபின் பிறர்க்கே யுழைத்து ஏழையானேன்” (Periya Tirumoli, 1, 9, 7).

his valour in the last stanza of the decades of Periya Tirumōḷi, where he mentions his active service as a warrior under the King. The references to the lord Viṣṇu in the first part of the grant are natural to a devotee of Viṣṇu.

Considering all this, it will not be wrong to conclude that the names Mangala Nāḍālvān and Tirumangai Ālvār refer to the same person. The grant reveals him as a Viṣṇu-bhakta but does not contain profound references to the Lord as one would expect of Tirumangai Ālvār. But this can hardly be expected in his early years when the grant was made, and before he became the great saint that he did in his later years.

That he was hereditary lord of Āli Nādu, Mangala Nādu, Mangai and Kuṟaiyalūr is evident from his references to them in Periya Tirumōḷi, 1, 4, 7.⁸

From the above data it should be clear that it was Tirumangai Ālvār who gave the donations referred to in the 'Pattathān Mangalam copper plates'. Further evidence is of course necessary before this conclusion can be accepted as final, but there is no doubt that this opens a further field for research by scholars.

8. "வெந்திறற் களிதும் வேலைவா யழுதும்
விண்ணெடு விண்ணவர்க் கரசும்
இந்திரற் களுளி எமக்கும் ஈந்தருளும்
எந்தையெம் மடிகளெம் பெருமான்."

Annals of Old Madras: The Braminy

BY

RAO SAHIB K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

The Braminy was an officer of the Court in Madraspatnam. His duties of office may be gathered from the following extract :

"Wednesday 25th January 1693

JOHN DOLBEN

Sitting in the Admiralty Court.

The Rt. Hon'ble Company

vs.

Elihu Yale (Late President and others)

The way of swearing the Gentues hath been in the Court before the Jury by causing water and flowers to be brought from the Pagoda, the flowers are put upon their heads and they drink some of the water before or in the Court; and both are done and given by the Bramin of the Pagoda and in the presence of the Eternal God who they believe in a particular manner to be in all Courts of Justice; and they are required to speak the truth.

The practice of making an oath (the word is derived from the Saxon word *eoth*) is as ancient as the earliest known civilisations. Its use to bind the conscience on some ceremonial occasions was adopted by the ancient Medes and Persians, the Egyptians and Assyrians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Israelites, Hindus and Muhammadans. When Nature worship was prevalent the practice of swearing by created objects such as the Sun, Moon, Rivers appears to have prevailed. From this stage the transition was to the practice by which Gods conceived in human form were invoked.

Manu, in Chapter VIII v. 102-113, has propounded :

Let the judge cause a priest (Brahmin) to swear by his veracity; a soldier (kshatriya) by his horse or elephant and his weapons; a merchant (Vaisya) his Kine, grain and gold; a

mechanic or a servile man (Sudra) by imprecating ; on his own head, if he speaks falsely, all possible crimes."

Mitakshara, Vyavaharadhyaya Chapter VIII Section 1, Verse 81, prescribes penalty for suborners and witnesses guilty of falsehood.

Constantine's Law required every witness in a cause to take the oath which is confirmed by Justinian.

Oaths in support of the testimony which the witnesses are required to take under the Hindu and English Law before their evidence is taken, are not to be found under the Muhammadan Jurisprudence, the theory being that men are always under an obligation to speak the truth whether under oath or otherwise. But decisory oaths, such as are found in every jurisprudence, are also found under the Muhammadan system.

The Indian Law relating to oaths derived its origin from the English Law with such modifications as were rendered necessary by the peculiar circumstances in India. The form of oath ordered to be administered is found in a consultation dated March 18, 1678 when Streyntsham Master, Governor in Council, resolved in Council to erect a Court of Judicature :

"You shall true answeare make unto all such questions as shall be demanded of you touching the matters in question between A and B, you shall declare the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, according to your knowledge : so help you God and the Contents of that Booke."

The English were reluctant to swear the witnesses, who were not Christians, on the Holy Bible because they thought that to do so would give the latter "notable advantage of all Christians and others." Besides this, the witnesses, who were not Christians, were themselves "very scrupulous how they swear after their own rites" which to them was most binding upon their conscience.

The proceedings of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George, 1688, record :

- The Hindoo was sworn after the manner of the Gentues.
- The Englishmen were sworn on the Holy Evangelists.
- The Moors were sworn on the Alcoran.
- Mootal was sworn after the manner of Pariars.

The Hindu witnesses when they took the oath laid their hands on a cow's or calf's head as was "their custome" (January 1672),

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or took hold of a cow's tail as was prevalent in Bombay in 1718, it "being the most solemn Manner among the Jentues". After the reorganisation of the Mayor's Court in 1726 the "Cow oath" was administered, the witnesses being made to take hold of a cow's tail and swear to speak the truth.

Conscientious objections to taking an oath were often raised by the Hindus. Among the Hindus there was a great aversion to swearing. According to them conscientious men would not swear, knaves only would. Respectable native merchants were always averse to taking oaths. Though they constantly strove to avoid it, the Court always enforced it.

In 1715 the Peddu Naique appealed to the Governor in Council against the judgment of the Mayor's Court for pags. 1,000 passed against him. He alleged that, though the debt had been discharged, decision was given against him because "your petitioner would not swear he had paid that bond, which your petitioner answers is contrary to his cast". At a consultation dated November 8, 1715, it was "Agreed that the judgment given in Mayor's Court against the Pedda Naique be confirmed viz. That he pays the bond of one thousand pagodas which Theobalds Dubash, Jango, sues him for, unless he will take his oath that the said Bond has been already discharg'd.

Agreed that if the Pedda Naique does agree to take the oath as beforemention'd, Messrs. Thomas Frederick and William Jennings do take the Chief Dubash with them and see it be substantially and satisfactorily drawn up as Customary amongst the gentues in such cases."

The form of oath that we come across in cases like these is what was known as the Pagoda Oath. The person who was to take the oath was to visit the Temple, bathe in the Temple Tank, solemnly declare the truth of the matter in question, and finally in confirmation put out the lamps according to custom.

Mahadeva was a renter of the East India Company's Old Garden down to March 1725. In May of that year he complained that Suncarama, when in power, had not only withheld the new lease granted to him subsequent to 1717 by Governor Collett, but also exacted a large sum of money for himself. The Council ordered both men to take their oaths regarding these allegations. Suncarama refused to take the oath. He was compelled to refund the amount extorted and pay a fine as well. Mahadeva was ordered to do as follows (4-5-1725) :

"You are first to wash your body in the Tank at Triplicane and swear that Suncarama obliged to pay him Pags. 446 - - - In confirmation of all of which you are to put out the lamps according to custom."

In 1735 a Guzerati, one of the principal native bankers at Madras, was fined for refusing to take an oath. He appealed to the President in Council, who resolved to remit the fine.

In 1737 the Mayor's Court committed to jail for the same reason Perrinna Moodalare and Ram Chundree, two respectable merchants of Madras. On September 28 of that year the President was surpriz'd to see a great Crowd of People enter the Fort, merchants and others, who came with a complaint that the Mayor's Court had committed to Jail those two merchants for no other reason but they had refused to take certain oaths which they alleged were contrary to their Religion and the Rules of their cast. The crowd and clamour was so great and some of them calling out that if such a Power was tolerated they would not continue longer in the Bounds; and knowing besides there was nothing about which these people are so tenacious as that which affects the religious Rites and Ceremonies, the President thought himself under an absolute Necessity of doing something immediately which might pacify and make them easy. Accordingly he sent for the Mayor and the Sheriff. The first owned to him that the said two merchants were only imprison'd because they refused to take certain Oaths at Triplicane Pagoda - - - The President having talked some time with the Mayor.....told him in the end.....that he shou'd be very ready to join the Court in any measures which they shou'd propose, that the regular course of justice might not be obstructed provided that a due regard was had for Consciences truly scrupulous and that the natives might not be disturbed in their Rites and Ceremonies; but in the meantime he must desire Mr. Sheriff to release the two merchants upon their Parole, which he accordingly did and then the people being satisfied, they dispersed.

Omichand vs. Barker I Atkyns 21 details a different mode of oath. In July 1729 Barker was appointed Chief of Patna by the East India Company. Omichand was a considerable merchant of that place. The former applied to the latter to be engaged in partnership with him for sale of goods. Omichand was to advance the money for buying the goods and in consideration thereof Barker was to allow him interest at 12 per cent. Barker sold the goods for a great profit and refused to come to any account with

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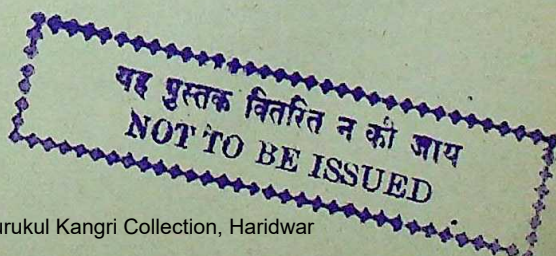
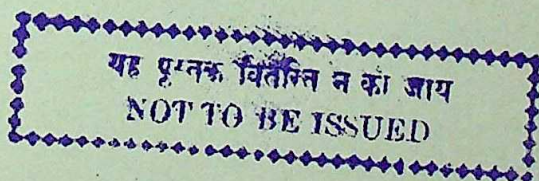
Omichand. Omichand filed a suit in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta in 1736. When the case was ready for hearing Barker left Calcutta in a French East India ship. The Court interpreted it as a flight from justice and decreed Omichand's claim with costs. Barker died on the voyage but made a will on 21-12-1736 charging his real and personal estate with payment of his debts. Proceedings were launched in the High Court of Chancery, London, for the purpose. That Court issued a commission for the examination of witnesses and for that purpose to swear an interpreter to interpret the oath to the defendant in his cross bill and to administer the proper oath in the most solemn manner.

A Bramin or priest of the Gentoo religion was brought and after the oath to be administered to the witnesses was explained to him he interpreted it to each of the witnesses upon which they did with their hands touch the foot of the bramin or priest, the same being the usual and most solemn form in which oaths are most usually administered to witnesses who profess the Gentoo religion, the same being the form adopted by the Court at Calcutta.

Held (1744) that it was the proper oath and that the evidence was admissible.

Other modes of swearing prevalent in Northern India were adopted according to circumstances, even to swearing on the tiger's skin or by Salgram, a fossil (the Argonauta Argo.)

(To be continued)



The Period of the Vedas

BY

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The Vedas are the most sacred books of the Hindus. European scholars have tried their best to cast doubts on their authenticity and their admirers are still engaged in the self-same pursuit. They claim that their philological studies have led them to the conclusion that the difference in the language of the Vedas can be explained only by their having been compiled in different periods, and they are therefore not contemporaneous writings. They assert that the Rigveda was written first and the other Vedas followed much later. But this conclusion cannot be admitted without a searching scrutiny.

In my humble opinion such a theory is simply ruled out of court owing to the fact that the names of the other Vedas are to be found in the Rigveda. If the other Vedas did not exist when the Rigveda was compiled, how was it possible to mention their names in the Rigveda.

We find in Mandal 8, Sukta 87, Richa 1 (Cf. Rigveda—Samhita—F. Max Muller—Second Edition—London—Oxford University Press Warehouse, 1892) the word “stoma” and stoma prayers are used only in the Samaveda. Again the word “uktha” occurs in Rigveda M. 6, S. 36, R. 13; M. 8, S. 6, R. 35, and M. 8, S. 16, R. 2, and this word is the title of one category of the Samaveda. In Rigveda M. 10, S. 90, R. 9 the simultaneous birth of the Rigveda, Samaveda and the Yajurveda has been recorded. In Rigveda, M. 10, S. 100, R. 6 we come across the word “sāmag” which means the reciter or singer of the Samaveda. At the same place occur the words “Uktha-shasa” denoting the “shansita” of a special kind of Samaveda, or in other words the performer of prayers with it; “yajanya” meaning the leader of the yagya; “adhwarya” implying the knower of Yajurveda; and “brahma” connoting the knower of all the Vedas.

The portion of the Vedas containing mantras (incantations) alone is called the Samhita. The other portion in which the procedure for performing yāga, the rishis of the mantras, and methods of performing prāyaschitta (penance) etc. are given, is called the Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa of the Rigveda is named the Aitareya and we find the following account in it in Chapter 25 Section 7. Prajapati collected the materials and made the knower of the Rigveda the hotā. He made the knower of the Yajurveda the Adhvaryu, and the knower of the Samaveda the "udgātā". He made the knower of all the three Vedas the "Brahma". All these four rtviks are essential in every yāga. It is the function of the Brahma to listen quietly to the incantation of the mantras. Later on, if the rtvik makes a mistake in the pronunciation of the Rigveda he will perform havana in the gārhapatya fire with the Bhū Vyāhrti. If there is a mistake in the pronunciation of the Yajurveda then if there is Somayag he will perform havana in the agnidhriya fire with the bhuwah vyāhrti; and if there is haviryag he will perform havana in the anwaharya pachan fire. Yagas in which soma juice is poured into the havana are called somayag. Yagas in which barley, rice, til (sesamum seed) etc. are poured into the havana are called haviryag. If there is a mistake in the pronunciation of the Samaveda the havana should be performed in the āhavanīya fire with the swāh vyāhrti.

This latter havana is necessary as where the mantra is pronounced incorrectly that portion of the yāga is nullified, and not only is that part spoilt but it causes injury otherwise also. It is, therefore, the duty of the Brahma to remedy the defect by performing prayaschitta (penance) by means of havana. If havana is performed the result is right.

All these things are clearly described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Rigveda is the principal book of yāgas and it would be a purposeless compilation if there are no yāgas, and no other vedas. Therefore, the existence of the other Vedas along with the Rigveda is axiomatic. We come across the description of Raja Paijavan's Aswamedha yāga in Rigveda M. 3, S. 53, R. 11, but its procedure is given only in the Yajurveda. Thus the description of the yāgas in the Rigveda proves the pre-existence of the Yajurveda and the Samaveda.

The Fate of Mir Jumla's Karnatak Dominions

BY

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1. *The Karnatak conferred on Mir Jumla as Jagir under the Mughal Empire.*

The rebellion of Mir Jumla was over, the Mughal invasion of Hyderabad was suspended, but the question of the ownership of the Karnatak the root-cause of these events still remained open, even after the conclusion of formal peace between Qutb Shah and the Mughals. The Sultan justly wanted to retain that rich and spacious country, as it had been acquired by his servant with his own resources. But Aurangzeb coveted it. As early as March, 1656, he had informed the then Wazir Sadulla Khan: "As regards the Karnatak, where there are several mines of diamonds and seaports, still under the *gomostas* of Mir Jumla, and which has been declared imperial territory, action will be taken according to the needs of the situation." By securing the cession of Ramgir (between the Painganga and the Godavari; modern Manikdrug and Chinoor) from Golkonda, he had brought the Mughal province of Telingana closer to the Northern Karnatak and could thus move his army from the one to the other without the need of a long march through Golkonda territory. So Aurangzeb tried to baffle every move of the Sultan to retain the Karnatak.

Even before the arrival of Mir Jumla at Delhi, Qutb Shah intrigued hard to keep possession of it. He petitioned to Shahjahan for favour of his restoring to him the Karnatak and the ancestral fort of Ramgir. He hoped that Aurangzeb would recommend his case before the Emperor. He even tried to influence the Emperor through his own daughter. But Aurangzeb asked the Sultan to wait, as consideration of the matter had been deferred till the appointment of Muazzam Khan. Qutb Shah then urged his ambassador at Delhi, Mulla Abdus Samad, to present his case before the Emperor. The ambassador appealed to the Emperor through Dara. The importunities of the Sultan, sponsored by Dara, melted the heart of the Emperor, who became inclined towards admitting

his claim over the Karnatak "as a supplement to his old territories". Highly incensed at the Sultan's direct appeal without reference to himself or his *Wakil*, Aurangzeb accused the Sultan of impertinence and reminded him that the matter would not be taken in hand by the Emperor before the arrival of Mir Jumla at Delhi.¹

Mir Jumla was not the man to permit the Sultan to swallow up his own morsel. Aurangzeb too, depended on him in counteracting Qutb Shah's intrigues before the Emperor.^{1a} In letter after letter Aurangzeb instructed the Mir to wean the Emperor over to his side. Immediately on his arrival at Delhi, he was advised to take from the Emperor a *farman* granting the Karnatak to him, to undo the manoeuvrings of the Sultan, aided by Dara. During the invasion of Hyderabad Aurangzeb had endeavoured to persuade the Emperor to acquire that jewel of a country, by pointing to its limitless resources and riches. Evidently that had left the Emperor unmoved. But now Mir Jumla kindled the Emperor's cupidity by his speeches and his presents, which confirmed Aurangzeb's report. The Emperor, allured by the jewels of Mir Jumla, procured from the E. Karnatak, decided to hold it within the Empire, and was pleased to confer it as a reward on Mir Jumla (July, 1656) as his personal jagir, held directly from the Emperor and free of tribute for seven years. The necessary imperial *farman* was despatched to Qutb Shah through Mir Ahmad Said, an imperial officer and Mulla Abdus Samad, the Golkunda hajib.² Too late did Qutb Shah beg the Emperor to grant the country to him in return for payment of 15 lakhs of rupees as *peshkash* every year. Aurangzeb now refused to forward his petition to the Emperor, adding sarcastically that he might send it direct. In explaining how the Karnatak was lost by Qutb Shah and gained by Mir Jumla, he wrote

1. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 102a (To Sadulla), 58a-b (Qutb writing to his daughter), 58b, 58b-59a (Emperor favourable), 190a. Tabrezi, *Golkonda Letters*, 2b, 4a; *Guldasta* (Bond of Qutb) Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, I. 220. Ramgir Circar in the Nizam's dominions. Town 79° 30'E, 18° 47' N. *Atlas of South India* by Pharaah & Co. sh. 40.

1a. In reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 15th June, 1656, Aurangzeb wrote to him: "When the affair at Delhi will be to, your liking, there will be no disturbance in the control and administration of the Karnatak." (*Adab*, 83a).

2. *Adab*, 83a, 190a, 60a, and 60b-61a (*farman*). Tabrezi, 141b-144a: Since the letter of Thomas Symonds (Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p. 91) which alone gives us the unique information that the Karnatak was given to Mir Jumla free of tribute, is dated Aug. 2, 1656, it is reasonable to infer that the grant must have been made in July.

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to the crest-fallen Sultan: "At the time of the arrival of the imperial army at Haidarabad, I had urged you to present to the Emperor all your choicest jewels and precious things for placating him and fulfilling your objects. But you did not pay heed to it. Mir Jumla, on the other hand, saw the Emperor and presented diamonds, rubies and other jewels and rare curios to him and informed him of every matter. If you had acted according to my advice, matters would not have come to such a pass. It is useless to say anything on them when they have passed out of control".³ Thus at last Mir Jumla got from the Mughal Emperor a confirmation of what he had secured by force.

2. *Reaction on the Deccani Powers.*

The departure of Mir Jumla from the Karnatak and the reduction of his armed forces there gave the signal for all Deccani powers, smarting under feelings of frustrated ambition and vengeance, to make a bid for getting as much out of the rich spoils of the absent owner. The two Sultans, probably in concert, at once began preliminary movements of their respective armies. While Qutb Shah despatched a force to Northern Karnatak under his general Abdul Jabbar Khan with the professed object of administering and guarding the old territories, Adil Shah asked the qiladar of Jinji to nibble at the southernmost part of Mir Jumla's Karnatak territories as early as June, 1656. The Raja of Chandragiri, too, desirous of regaining his lost territories, started his preparations.⁴ An understanding among all these erstwhile dupes of Mir Jumla, dictated by self-interest and vengeance, was only a question of time, but it was hastened by the bestowal of the Karnatak on Mir Jumla by the Emperor.

The power most vitally affected by it was Qutb Shah. With the final disposal of the question of the Karnatak, he realised that the days of pure intrigues, if necessary, had come. Emboldened by the machinations of Dara, Qutb Shah now defied Aurangzeb's repeated warnings and persisted in coveting the Karnatak including Kambam, and hoped to nullify the imperial grant in practice by resorting to a policy of obstruction and subterfuges. Far from

3. *Adab*, 60b-61a.

4. Madras letter (7th July, 1656), *EFL. op. cit.*; *Adab* 58b (Qutb Shah's activities); 82a-b (Mir Jumla heard of the troubles, created by the qiladar of Jinji, at Narwar, on his way to Delhi and at once wrote to Aurangzeb, 2nd Ramzan/14 June). For Raja of Chandragiri see my article on *Mir Jumla's Relations with the English 1655-1658*, *JBORS*. March, 1940.

recalling his men from the frontier, he instructed his general, Abdul Jabbar, to hinder the *dak chauki* of Mir Jumla and to pick a quarrel with his agents, causing considerable disorders in the internal administration of the Karnatak. Again before the arrival of imperial officers in the Karnatak, Qutb Shah's men collected the revenues of some mahals there.⁵

Much more serious than these pin-pricks of Qutb Shah was the 'Hindu Revolt', the concerted insurrection of the disaffected Hindu *Nayaks* or *Zamindars* and the *Vizadores* or *talliars* at Pulicat, Poonamallee and San Thome, the *sardars* of the sepoys of the Karnatak under the leadership of the Rayal against their Muslim masters. They "raised the dust of rebellion, closed the roads and interfered with the postal messengers", as Haji Sulaiman, *qiladar* of Gandikota, informed Ibrahim Beg Burdi. Whatever might have been the degree of success in Mir Jumla's efforts at consolidation of his power in the Karnatak, his conquest of it did not completely crush the spirit of the Hindus there, while their sentiments were outraged by his plunder of the idol-temples and his oppressions on the people to snatch away their gold. While the movement was instigated by both the Deccani Sultans, the main part of inciting the Rayal and the *zamindars* against the Nawab's officials seems to have been taken by Qutb Shah. It was the presence of his army under Abdul Jabbar in the locality which encouraged the Rajas and largely contributed to the "tumult and commotion" there. Aurangzeb rebuked the Shah: "You have sown the seed of a new disturbance and have made the country over to a group of *zamindars* who came to you at Haidarabad for encouragement and you have sent several officers of yours,..... You have also won over the unfortunate Rayal, and taken some mahals,.....from the gomastas of the Khan. You have thus disorganised the country which had been brought under order". The *Chambers Narrative* also significantly refers to the report that "the King of Gulcondah had let the country of Carnaticum again to the Roylaes".⁶

The initial efforts of the Hindus were marked with quick success. By October, 1656, they recovered the whole country round

5. Adab 86a-b (Dara inciting the Sultan); 59b-60, 87b (Kambam); 63a-64b (revenues). EFL. op. cit.

6. Adab, 192b-193a, 87b, 59b-60a, 69a-b, 62b-63a. Fort St. George to Company (10 Nov. 1656), Love I. 165, 166 and n; Madras to Surat (21 Oct. 1656) and Madras to Bantam (5 Nov. 1656), EFL. op. cit., 91-93, 95, 97; Pr. IHRC. XV. 31-32; see my article on *Mir Jumla and the English in Madras, 1655-60*, JBORS.

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Madras, except the castle of Poonamallee, thanks to Vengum Raja, the father-in-law of Sri Ranga, who even invaded Peddapollium. Mir Sayyid Ali, Mir Jumla's governor of Poonamallee, hastened to Pulicat, where most of the Nawab's riches had been stored. Such reverses adversely affected the morale of the Nawab's party. Collecting the *Talliarrs* together, Vengum Raja marched towards Pulicat and advised Koneri Chetti, Sri Ranga's general in the regions round Poonamallee, to "gather people together", and seize that country. Koneri captured Bala Rau, the Nawab's governor of San Thome, Mylapore and Poonamallee, who was betrayed by the *Talliarrs* near San Thome. The Hindus "pillaged him to his clothes", seized 20 elephants of Mir Jumla and 16 of other Moslem merchants, and brought all of them to Madras as prisoners.

On hearing of these disasters, Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak, the Nawab's general, sent Lingum Nayak, with a party of cavalry and infantry to capture Koneri Chetti, with whom the Nawab's forces had several skirmishes for two or three days near Poonamallee. The failure of the Hindus to capture the castle of Poonamallee was due to the treacherous delay of their general Koneri Chetti, who failed to strike till Mir Jumla's party "had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him". It is probable that after Koneri Chetti had been beaten by the Muhammadans, he was reinforced by Vengum Raja, who had so long besieged Pulicat. But their combined forces proved unable to encounter Lingum Nayak and so the Hindu generals of the Rayal fled to Peddanikpetta near Madras and sought protection in the fort of Madras with their army, being hotly pursued by the Muhammadans.⁷

But probably the most serious offence was Qutb Shah's planning of a large-scale assault on Mir Jumla's Jagirs with the help of Bijapur. As Aurangzeb rebuked Qutb Shah: "You are endeavouring to cause destruction to Bijapur..... You have not cast aside your whim of possessing the Karnatak. You are making nonsensical efforts. When the Golkonda Kingdom is surrounded on two sides by powerful armies, you are sending your armies to the Karnatak, impelled by your abortive evil designs. Sometimes you are inciting the zamindars and creating disturbances; sometimes you are obstructing the *dak chauki*. Do not persist in such

7. EFL. op. cit. 95-98; Love I. 190-1 and n; 166, 167, n; 168, n. Vengum Raja of factory records is to be identified with Pochiraju Venga. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 311. JBORS. op. cit. J. 6

actions. Do not lead the Bijapuris astray. Open the eye of foresight and clear the haze which shrouds the mirror of mind...."⁸

3. *Attitude of Mir Jumla with regard to the new arrangement.*

Mir Jumla was determined to maintain his conquests, now included within the Mughal empire, but given back to him as Jagir. He had, in 1656, delayed in joining Aurangzeb in his invasion of Golkonda for the sake of satisfactorily providing for the administration of his territories and collecting his goods scattered there. Even after his appointment as Mughal Wazir, he remained deeply concerned about the Karnatak affairs. But, being away from the theatre of action, where the late rivals in ambition and diplomacy had become comrades in arms for partitioning his own dominion among themselves, he was obliged to depend on Aurangzeb for exercising a general supervision, and safeguarding them from his covetous neighbours, while trusting the internal management of his territories to his lieutenants. In fine, the dominion, now included within the frontiers of the eternal empire must be under the mantle of protection of its army. From Qabil Khan's assurance to Mir Jumla also it appears that Aurangzeb on his side was fully conscious of his responsibility. So he repeatedly urged Aurangzeb to look after his jagirs properly, even by sending him directions about all important matters. In particular Mir Jumla was very keen about the *dak chauki* and asked the *hajib* of Aurangzeb to arrange it carefully. Aurangzeb, in his turn, complied with his ally's earnest exhortations, often against his own opinion⁹ and assured him not to worry. But the growing aggressiveness of Qutb Shah enhanced Mir Jumla's anxiety; and he began to harbour feelings of suspicion that probably Aurangzeb was not taking adequate care of his *jagir*.

4. *Aurangzeb tries to remove Mir Jumla's Suspicions.*

Therefore, Aurangzeb had to try hard to clear the doubts of his ally. The irony of the situation was that the Viceroy, who often adopted a tone of rude indignation in his dealings with his suspi-

8. *Adab*, 63a-64a.

9. Aurangzeb wanted Muhammad Ishaq, probably an officer of Mir Jumla, to remain with him in the Deccan and discharge the affairs of his master. But he sent him to Delhi, according to the Wazir's request, recommending that a proved and loyal officer like him should be amply rewarded by Mir Jumla (*Adab* 83b).

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cious father, the Emperor,¹⁰ was courteous and conciliatory beyond measure in his letters to his suspicious but masterful ally. It only shows that Aurangzeb could not afford to be indignant with the Wazir as he was invaluable to him.

The tone of Aurangzeb's letters of assurances to Mir Jumla was the same. He complained of the perfidy, malevolence and untruth of the enemies, instigated by evil counsellors, described the actual disorders and set out in detail the steps adopted by him to set matters right. To allay Mir Jumla's anxiety, Aurangzeb sent copies of the reports of the spies and petitions of officers and supporters, copies of his own letters to various persons concerned and copies of his petitions to the Emperor, praying for orders.¹¹ But each letter contained a peculiar personal note of supplication, which clearly shows that Aurangzeb could not afford to be haughty in his relations with Mir Jumla. In his reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 12 Shuwwal, 24 July, Aurangzeb assured him: "I have done and I am doing what is necessary for me. How can I neglect this matter, with which very many affairs are connected?....The mind of no other person is so dear to me as yours....Consider me as doing more than what yourself could have done. When your sincerity and faith and your news are described in my court, my mind's garden is refreshed. It is not necessary to admonish you about your sincere faith. Rather I am confident about it. Make me pleased by always writing to me letters of sincerity and do not harbour (feelings of) separation in your mind. There is no limit of eagerness".¹² In August, 1656, we find Aurangzeb pathetically taking exception to the attitude of the Wazir as follows: "Keeping your mind in peace by dint of imperial favours, do not regard me in any way, as not wishing your good. (Verse) You are in the mind of every one. None else is your equal."¹³

In some letters Aurangzeb showed how he did his best, in spite of being handicapped in the discharge of his duties by the

10. Sarkar. *Aurangzeb*, I. ch. 9.

11. *Adab*, 86a-b (Reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 12 Shuwwal/24 July, 1656); 87b (What I have done for your jagir before and after the enforcement of Emperor's order, according to my capacity, is not unknown to you); 193b-194a (letter of Khwaj 'Arif in reply to his together with the copy of the letter of Qazi Md. Hashim, expressing sincere anxiety to Ibrahim Beg).

12. *Adab* 86a-b.

13. *Ibid*, 87a-b. This suggests that Aurangzeb thought that Mir Jumla, now risen to eminence, was forgetting his friendship with Aurangzeb; and a man like Aurangzeb was not likely to forget this, though for the present he had to put up with it.

Emperor's lack of confidence in him. "Even before the arrival of the Emperor's orders and your letter, I have done what is necessary for every matter and informed you both. I have given attention to the raising of an army in this province, whose condition and strength you know better and urged the keepers of forts and the frontier officials to be conscious of their duties and responsibilities and be ever vigilant and cautious."¹⁴ Repeatedly did Aurangzeb assure the Wazir either directly or through his munshi Qabil Khan, that he had never neglected the administration of his *jagirs* in the Karnatak and ceased to apply the necessary dose of threat to the enemies.¹⁵

Munshi Qabil Khan also wrote personal letters to the Wazir, assuring him of Aurangzeb's sincerity: Aurangzeb's favours are greater than this (Writing a *nishan* to Qutb),.....you need not write anything as regards management of your affairs. As he considers you among his special confidants and ignores all petitions of Qutb Shah to gratify you and as the task of looking after your *jagirs* is virtually the duty of the *Wakils* of Aurangzeb, how can he be negligent in this matter....As he is more careful of your affairs than his own....you need not be anxious.¹⁶

5. Aurangzeb's Measures for defending Mir Jumla's Karnatak.

In reality Aurangzeb took all necessary steps that lay in his power to guard the Karnatak from the flood of dangers rushing through the gap created by Mir Jumla's departure. On learning of Qutb Shah's designs from Qabad Beg, the Mughal hajib at Golkonda, Aurangzeb gave adequate instructions to the latter and made it plain to the aggressor that he would not allow any change in the *status quo*, any obstruction in the existing administrative arrangements, pending the arrival of the Mir at Delhi. To occupy the Karnatak without imperial sanction, Aurangzeb pointed out, would be not only hasty but unwise; it was bound to generate fumes of troubles, especially because Mir Jumla might adversely construe the Sultan's unauthorized interference in his territories before the Emperor. So Aurangzeb urged the Sultan to withdraw his men and await imperial orders.¹⁷ But when the Sultan, ignoring his warnings, did not recall Abdul Jabbar from the Karnatak,

14. *Ibid*, 88a;

15. *Ibid*, 88b-89a, 192b-193a.

16. *Ibid*, 190b-191b; 193b-194a, 195a-b.

17. *Ibid*, 58b. 193b-194a.

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even after its bestowal on Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb—by way of warning Dara—sent a contingent under Ismail Beg to take a letter from the Sultan in the name of Abdul Jabbar and fetch the commander back. Aurangzeb also asked the Sultan to recall Abdul Jabbar, leaving only a few men for administration of *mahals*.¹⁸ After quelling this disturbance Aurangzeb next proposed to settle the affair of Kambam with due attention.¹⁹

Qutb Shah now wrote to his son-in-law, begging that Ismail Beg might not be despatched to Kambam in order to settle the dispute. The Prince forwarded the letter to Aurangzeb, but plainly told his father-in-law, that he was but reaping the harvest of his own negligence, warning him of the despatch of an imperial army in case of violation of orders. "Any loss or disturbance in the affairs of that country," he added, "would be the cause of a shaking of your own territories."

Mir Jumla was naturally very anxious to ensure the steady circulation of news of the Karnatak. On his departure, Aurangzeb had, at his request, instructed Qabad Beg, Mughal hajib at Golkunda, to see to the setting up of the *dakchauki* from Haidarabad to Sidhaut. He had also exhorted the Sultan about its enforcement after its completion, and ordered his diwan Murshid Quli Khan and a veteran officer of his, Muhammad Tahir, to warn the gomostas of the local *tuyuldars*, of the consequences of obstructing it. Later on Aurangzeb warned the Sultan that the despatch of Abdul Jabbar and the hindering of the *dakchauki* were not proper for him, lest Mir Jumla's representation before the Emperor might lead to undesirable consequences. Yet the Sultan, incited by Dara, continued to hinder the *dakchauki*. Greatly worried over the consequent disorders in transmission of news, Mir Jumla discussed the matter with the Emperor soon after his appointment and, according to his orders, Aurangzeb forbade the Sultan to interfere with it and urge him to recall his men from the Karnatak frontier. The Emperor also asked the Qutb Shahi agent at court to write to his master. Aurangzeb had to depute an officer of his (Kangar Beg or Ismail Beg) in the *dakchauki* to organize it and to bring news from the Karnatak. Still the Sultan did not settle the matter

*18. Ibid, 59b-60a; 69a-b; (Sultan Muhammad to Q'S. *["by this means the Secret Evil Councillors might be warned"]) 87b; 88b-89a; 193b-194a.]

19. Ibid, 59b-66a; 69a-b.

even after the promulgation of imperial orders. Mir Jumla, therefore, persuaded the Emperor to depute Muhammad Sharif to Haidarabad to regulate the *dakchauki* and also requested Aurangzeb to send a letter to the Sultan through that messenger. Aurangzeb, though conscious of the futility of "his speeches and writings," sent two letters, in accordance with the imperial mandate, one to his *hajib*, and another to the Sultan, warning him not to neglect the imperial farman and recent orders. In reply to Mir Jumla's letter of Shuwwal 28/30 July, or 9 Aug. 1656. Aurangzeb again warned the Sultan through Muhammad Sharif.²¹

Mir Jumla held Qabad Beg responsible for the delays in the enforcement of the *dakchauki*. He was found guilty of inefficiency, dilatoriness in enforcing orders, and "subtle neglect" of many important matters. Possibly for some more grievous offence, Aurangzeb promised to Mir Jumla to punish "Qabad and his Hindu companion," so that their example might not be followed by others. Finally, according to Mir Jumla's request, Aurangzeb dismissed Kabad from his post of *hajib* and appointed Ahmad Beg Najmsani, a trustworthy and sincere officer in his place, so that he might act in the proper way according to the orders received, and send authentic reports to the Emperor about "the events, the intentions and the needs of the Sultan."²²

Probably it was now realised that the best way to safeguard communications was to declare the *dakchauki* of Mir Jumla to be imperial. Thus we find Aurangzeb writing to Qutb Shah towards the end of 1656 that "he should not hinder the *dakchauki* of *Sarkar-i-jahanmadar* (Emperor), established according to imperial orders from Haidarabad to the end of the Karnatak," whereas formerly the *dakchauki* was spoken of as belonging to the Khan (Muazzam Khan).²³

Aurangzeb strongly reprimanded the Sultan for inciting the Hindu revolt. "I cannot understand," he wrote, "what is the cause of this quarrel, whose result is nothing but destruction and what profit you and the zamindars hope to derive from (commit-

21. *Ibid.* 190b-191b, 63a-64a, 82a-b, 86a-b (interference due to Dara's inciting), 67a-b, 60a (letter to Q'S.)

22. *Ibid.* 82b, 88b-89a, 59a-b. Qabad Beg was asked to dispose of the affairs about the salary of 4 lac *huns* and about *dakchauki*, and to accomplish other works with the help of Muhammad Ibrahim.

23. *Ibid.* 63a-64a.

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ting) this offence. Write letters of caution to the *zamindars*; recall your officers from these and cease giving evil counsel to the Rayal and the *zamindars*; and save yourself from explanation to the Emperor; otherwise, on account of this nefarious act, you will bite the finger of shame with the teeth of repentance in vain."²⁴ Learning of the imperial conferment of the Karnatak on Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb at once despatched appropriate letters to all persons concerned through Haji Shafi: one to the Rayal, (containing "fear and hope",) some to the *zamindars* and the generals in the Karnatak, some to the Mughal officers in the Karnatak (Quzi Muhammad Hashim, Krishna and Khawaja Muhammad' Arif), besides letters to the Mughal *hajib*, Qabad Beg and Qutb Shah.²⁵

A Mughal contingent under Krishna and some officers of Aurangzeb went to Sidhaut, and together with the army of Qazi Muhammad Hashim defeated Abdul Jabbar. For sometime, the Shah, "in despair and in loss, restrained himself." Once again, the *dakchauki* began to run as before. Giving this welcome news sent by Khwaja 'Arif, to Mir Jumla, Qabil Khan exclaimed "Oh, how I wish you had another officer like Krishna."²⁶ Later, when Qutb Shah's men captured the wounded Krishna, Aurangzeb ordered that the Karnatak should be given up by Qutb Shah and that Krishna should be released so that he might join his work and do his duties.²⁷

Towards the end of 1656, Aurangzeb threatened Qutb Shah with invasion, if he did not recall the *zamindars*, whom he had been inciting, and his officers, who had acquired a few *mahals* of the empire and send them along with Kamgar Beg, specially appointed to bring them. He also asked the Sultan to help Kamgar in the realisation of the revenues already collected by his men before.²⁸

With regard to Bijapur, Aurangzeb, even before getting on 9th Ramzan/21 June, 1656, a letter of Mir Jumla containing an account of the Sultan's activities, had arranged that Maluji, whose

24. *Adab* 62b-63a.

25. *Ibid*, 190-191b (7 letters), 88b-89a (slight differences). 193-b-194a. (letters sent through Haji Shafa and two servants.)

26. *Ibid*, 87b, & 190b-191b (Mughal contingent sent), 86b (Qutb baffled), 193b-194a (Qabil to Mir).

27. *Ibid*, 59b-60a.

28. *Ibid*, 63a-64a. "Do not incur the wrath of the Emperor for the second time....one year before you have tried your strength....you have not kept your agreement".

brother Mir Jumla had recommended before the Emperor, would fight the *quildar* of Jinji and asked Maluji's son as well to be on his guard. He now replied to Mir Jumla: "The offence revealed by the report of the Bijapuri *harkaras* is not unexpected of the Bijapuris. But nothing of the kind has been known in the imperial court and there is no possibility of sending such information there. Adil Shah has no right (power) to extend the hand of aggression towards that country... As a precautionary measure, you have done well in informing me of this. I have asked Abdul Fath Munshi that when the letters would be received, the necessary words would be explained by interpreter and communicated to the Emperor and the original letter would be given to you." Realising that charges against Bijapur in the imperial court would be of no avail Aurangzeb proposed to Mir Jumla to correspond cypher. Aurangzeb also warned the Sultan through the Mughal *hajib*.²⁹

While Aurangzeb was engaged in taking appropriate military action and writing letters of threat to the Deccani powers, to dam the flood of their activities in Mir Jumla's *jagirs*, he did not neglect to adopt suitable tricks of diplomacy. He kept up a busy but secret correspondence with Shahuji Bhonsla, on the advice of Mir Jumla whom he kept informed of the progress of negotiations. Shahuji was to be utilised in protecting the Mir's Karnatak *jagirs* in return for some preferment in order to counter Dara's secret intrigues with the Sultans. Many a time did Aurangzeb instruct Shahuji Bhonsla to keep information of Mir Jumla's *jagirs* and not to neglect the management of the Karnatak, and to remain on the alert, so that no defect might arise in that locality. He also wrote to him about checking the Hindu revolt, promising rewards and asked Mir Jumla to write to him personally if he thought necessary.³⁰ Shahuji probably expressed willingness to help the Mughals, as we find Aurangzeb sent to Mir Jumla (in reply to his letter of 28 Shuwwal, 30 July/9 Aug. 1656) the copy of the translation of the letter of *Zubdat ul amsal* (Shahuji) to his brother Trimbakji for his information and necessary action. Aurangzeb also requested Mir Jumla to inform him of the orders of the Emperor on Shahuji's petition. Probably an attack on Adil Shah's flank by Shahuji was contemplated, for Aurangzeb concludes the letter with the following: "It is not my concern at all if the injury

29. *Ibid*, 82a-b, 86a-b.

30. *Ibid*, 88b-89a, 86a-b.

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on this perfidious person (Adil Shah) becomes irremediable; rather it is very desirable (verse) What is good for you is also good for me....³¹

6. *Mir Jumla's suspicions unjustified*

Thus Munshi Qabil Khan's assertion that Aurangzeb's measures in the Karnatak dominions of Mir Jumla were too many to be narrated in a letter is not fulsome flattery but well-merited praise of Aurangzeb. In the light of these available materials, though from one source, the actual steps taken by Aurangzeb, sometimes on his own initiative and sometimes at Mir Jumla's dictation, and the confident and sincere tone of the explanatory assurances offered by Aurangzeb and his *munshi*, one cannot but conclude that Mir Jumla's suspicions of Aurangzeb's bonafides were not only unbecoming but baseless too, and that he showed lack of appreciation of the difficulties of Aurangzeb. It is easy to explain the suspicions by the long distance and the inevitable delay in getting news, which must have aggravated the sense of danger in the mind of the Wazir. It is also easy to see that the pitch of his mental tension remained unrelieved, as the letters, few and far between, on account of disorders of the *dakchaunki*, usually crossed one another on the way. But it is impossible to justify them. They were the inevitable outcome of the mistaken policy followed by the Emperor and the Wazir. Both of them wanted the Viceroy of the Deccan to take the initiative in the matter of Karnatak defence, because he was the man on the spot. But whatever he did, either in the field of diplomacy or military action, was necessary in the nature of temporary expedients. They were palliatives, not cures. And this was so, because they lacked the sanction of force. For one thing, the army of occupation of the Karnatak was necessarily reduced in strength on the departure of Mir Jumla.³² For another, circumstances beyond his control were working against him. As we have seen before, Dara's secret abetment of the ambitious designs of Qutb Shah, emboldened him to "stand firm in the field of obstinacy" and to flout Aurangzeb's repeated exhortations and threats.³³ Both the Deccani Sultans were stirred to defiance of Aurangzeb's warning by the knowledge

31. Advised by Shahuji Aurangzeb wrote to Antaji Pandit, *Ibid*, 87a-b, and to others also (*Ibid*, 193b-194a.) Did Khwaja 'Arif and Qabad Beg take part in these intrigues?

32. AEFI-1655-60. 91.

33. *Adab* 87b, 86a-b (Dara's inciting).

that the Emperor had no confidence in Aurangzeb and the exaggerated nature of the reports of the Emperor's demand of explanations from him.³⁴ Aurangzeb plainly admitted before Mir Jumla: "My speeches and writings are unavailing".³⁵ With regard to the enforcement of the *dakchauki*, Aurangzeb stated to him that there was no chance of its fulfilment, partly because of the obstruction of the *jagirdars* between Indur and Burhanpur and partly because of the lack of sincerity on the part of the men of the *dakchauki*.³⁶

7. *Scheme of a Second Golkonda Campaign rejected by Mir Jumla*

In this way, throughout the second half of the year 1656, Aurangzeb tried to disarm Mir Jumla's mind of the suspicions as regards his management of the Karnatak. The Viceroy of the Deccan rightly held that the real remedy must come from Delhi. At first he wanted Mir Jumla to "manipulate the affair before the Emperor", by inducing him to send *hukumnamas* (orders) to the two Sultans warning them off from their evil designs.³⁷ But, gradually the situation passed beyond the stage of showing "mere threats", and the time for applying the direct method of invasion came. He therefore emphasized on the Wazir the necessity of adopting a policy of reprisal against the hostile Deccani powers, and of securing the necessary imperial sanction by means of proper inducements and countermoves against Dara. "Even though I have not been negligent in my endeavours", Aurangzeb reminded Mir Jumla, "you, too, should endeavour by remembering that the closing of the door of disturbance depends on the Emperor's kindness, so that no defect might crop up in that country (Karnatak)".³⁸ Again, he informed the Wazir: "You know the affair of Golkonda well enough. As the *tadbir* of this affair depends on the sweet will of the the Emperor, you should place it in such a way that he takes away the teeth of lust from the Karnatak".³⁹

Giving news of the Hindu revolt to Mir Jumla, along with a petition to the Emperor, Aurangzeb stated that his object was not to alarm him but that he should broach the matter conveniently before the Emperor, as "An imperial force should be sent to

34. *Ibid*, 85a, 86a.

35. *Ibid*, 87a.

36. *Ibid*, 82b-83a, 83a-b.

37. *Ibid*, 86a-b.

38. *Ibid*, 87b.

39. *Ibid*, 86b-87a.

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drive away the Qutb Shahi army under Abdul Jabbar and a trustworthy man should be sent with an army to Qazi Muḥammad Hashim, for setting matters aright. Imperial sanction is necessary. I too, shall write to the Emperor. Be on the look-out for an opportunity and try. Everything depends on your endeavours. A mere threat will not do. Pray to God that by your endeavours our objects may be fulfilled. Never regard the affair to be an easy one".⁴⁰

Finally, Aurangzeb suggested to Mir Jumla the plan of downright extirpation of Qutb Shah and so requested him to come with an army to enforce the imperial order. "The gestures and actions of the Sultans and the machinations of these shortsighted persons are not unknown to you. For this reason I want to uproot Qutbulmulk, and do not consider it advisable to retain him in his place. However, God willing, within a short time the affair of the Karnatak will be disposed of as it should be. After the arrival of my petition (to the Emperor) where this matter has been written clearly, you should prepare for coming to this side and endeavour in such a way that the object be transacted without delay". Before the arrival of the imperial army, Aurangzeb proposed to raise an army in the province and to send it to the frontier, and if possible, to send an army under one reliable person to Qazi Md. Hashim so that they might reach there quickly, and as far as possible, endeavour to remove this disturbance (revolt).⁴¹

The situation caused by the Hindu revolt soon became precarious. The Mughal messenger, Haji Shafi, who had gone to the Karnatak sometime before this, could return only with great difficulty and reported the details to Aurangzeb, and gave him the petition of Qazi Muhammad Hashim and other generals stationed in the invaded areas. Aurangzeb, realising the gravity of the situation, ordered Qabil Khan to write to Mir Jumla so that the Wazir might speak to the Emperor if he considered advisable, and come to the Deccan quickly: "And as the affairs there have passed out of control", so ran Aurangzeb's summons, "do what you consider best. If you want to settle these disturbances, come quickly, so that we may try our best. Otherwise no effort will be fruitful in

40. *Ibid*, 192b-193a (italics mine).

41. *Ibid*, 88b-89a. The fear of Qutb Shah of an attack on Haidarabad and the Karnatak, which he expressed in a letter to the Shah of Persia, was thus justified. Tabrezi, 1416-1446 [Proc. IHC. 1941. pp. 606-9] and 144a-145a.

future. It is well-known that you are one, at whose service big men are, and that you possess wisdom and experience, knowledge and farsight; devise means of arranging the matter quickly and do not be negligent".⁴²

It is thus clear that Aurangzeb urgently wanted Mir Jumla to lead an invasion of the Deccan. The course of events—Qutb Shah's interference in his dominions in defiance of successive imperial *firman*s and orders and viceregal *nishans* and threats, the Sultan's instigation of the Hindu revolt, and planning of a large-scale assault with the help of Bijapur—and the difficulty of guarding his *jagirs* with the small army of occupation—too, must have made it clear to Mir Jumla, that either he must persuade the Emperor to sanction Aurangzeb's plan of invasion or lose the fruits of his 12 years' toil and endeavour. Having agreed on the fundamental policy of launching an invasion of the Deccan, the two conspirators differed as to the plan. While Aurangzeb wanted Mir Jumla to deal with the Karnatak first, Mir Jumla was of another mind and wanted to begin with Bijapur. Probably he thought that Qutb Shah and the Rayal were exhausted volcanoes and might be taken up later, and that Bijapur was *the* enemy par excellence, who should be crushed first. Probably that is why Mir Jumla advised Aurangzeb to inform the Emperor of the real motives. (*haqiqati-qasd*) of both the Sultans, so that he might strengthen his arguments of persuading the Emperor and counter the peace moves of Dara. Evidently there arose some friction between the two allies on this point. In his suspense the Wazir became worried over what he considered to be the Viceroy's hesitation or lack of response; for we find the latter hastening to explain that he had repeatedly acted up to the Wazir's advice and assuring him: "How is it possible to show negligence in such an object whose value is beyond calculation? Besides, how can I agree that such a vast country will pass out of hand, causing elation of enemies and your mortification? God forbid this thought may find a place in my mind. Surprised to know that you have taken this for granted".⁴³

Thus when it appeared that the problem of the ownership of the Karnatak would again give rise to another offensive in the

42. *Adab* 194b-195a (letter sent through Khwaja 'Arif).

43. *Ibid*, 88b-39; 61a (payment of arrear Golkunda tribute could no longer be delayed). The story of Mir Jumla's counter-arguments is not told by any source, but it took Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla nearly 5 months to persuade the Emperor to sanction the plan of invasion.

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Deccan, the death of the Bijapuri Sultan gave a new turn to the affairs and diverted the tide of invasion only against Bijapur.

8. *The Karnatak during the Bijapur campaign of 1657-'58*

So, reserving himself for the Bijapur campaign, Mir Jumla induced the Emperor to depute Shah Beg Khan, then at Bir, a dependency of Betul, to the Karnatak to suppress the Hindu revolt and to overawe the Deccani Sultans by the threat of sending Mir Jumla against them.⁴⁴ Accordingly, Aurangzeb posted Shah Beg Khan to the Karnatak and ordered him to immediately advance with whatever forces he had then at his disposal and effect a junction with Qazi Muhammad Hashim and the *gomostas* of Mir Jumla and to return only after suppressing the disturbances there.⁴⁵ As Shah Beg found that the collection of the entire army caused delay, Aurangzeb ordered him to start with his existing army only, collecting men during his advance to the frontier.⁴⁶ Shah Beg Khan started from Bir on Safar 22/30 November 1656, together with his own army, including Sarfaraz Khan, Jadu Ray with his brother and Jauhar Khan and Udachram, and reached Indur on 8th instant, Rabi 1/15 December and from there they started for their destination along with the Government *Sazawal*.⁴⁷

To meet the objection of the Sultan that the advance of the Mughal army would disturb the Golkunda administration, Aurangzeb ordered Shah Beg Khan to follow a short cut to the Karnatak with the help of the Qutb Shahi guides, without halting on the way, if there be one, or to follow the longer route, without plundering the Golkunda ryots on the way. As Shah Beg delayed on the Golkunda frontier to solve the problem of provisions, Aurangzeb asked him to expedite, informing him that he should not worry over provisions, as Qutb Shah had been to order his frontier officials to provide the Mughal army with provisions, so that the local ryots might not suffer. If the Golkunda officials supplied the necessary provisions, well and good; otherwise Shah Beg was to advance, without wasting any time and "collecting food materials on the way by any possible means". Aurangzeb evidently wanted him to reach the Karnatak as early as possible. As Shah Beg made delay Aurangzeb sharply reprimanded him, even hinting that he

44. *Adab*, 91-92a; 195a-b (at Bir): *Tabrezi*, 144a-145a.

45. *Adab*, 159a-b (order sent through Muhammad Rashid)

46. *Ibid*, 159b.

47. *Ibid*, 195a-b (others following Shah Beg).

had probably been bribed by the enemy; and asked him to take the Golkunda guides only up to the Kishanganga and not beyond it. Shah Beg was also asked to see that no injury was done to the territories of Mir Jumla and to the standing crops there.⁴⁸

The deputation of Shah Beg proved effective. Abdul Jabbar retired to Haidarabad. Aurangzeb endeavoured to keep the Rayal neutral. Advised by Qazi Muhammad Hashim, he sent a letter through Khwaja 'Arif to the "accursed Rayal", as he informed Mir Jumla. The activities of the Rayal and other *Zamindars* were now shifted from Mir Jumla's Karnatak to Bijapuri Karnatak. To relieve the Wazir's anxiety Aurangzeb sent him the latest despatch of the Qazi in original, together with a report of his instructions to Shah Beg Khan, stating that he was expected to reach the Karnatak by the beginning of Rabi 11/7 January, 1657. Aurangzeb again wrote to Mir Jumla: "I hope God will fulfill your objects and this will strengthen our mutual friendship, and increase the mortification of the enemies":⁴⁹

In the meantime the situation in the Karnatak became complicated by some boundary disputes between Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla, arising out of conflicting claims of their respective officers for realisation of revenues in certain places. Qutb Shah complained before the Emperor that Mir Jumla had promised to pay him 4 lakhs *huns* (twenty lakhs of rupees) or allow him to realise the revenue from his *jagirs* at Ellore and Rajmandri and other places; but that contrary to his promise, he had been realising the revenue through his own men at Ellore, Rajmandri and countries lying on the other side of the river Krishna at Murtazanagar and had not paid the stipulated amount to the Sultan. So Qutb Shah appealed to the Emperor to be permitted to realise the revenue with the help of Golkunda officials.⁵⁰

The Sultan's case seems to have been a genuine one. Mir Jumla, who was still at Delhi, trying hard to secure the Emperor's approval to the plan of Bijapur invasion, wanted to dispose of the dispute quickly, lest matters might be delayed. A befitting *pesh-kash* to the Emperor worth 15 lakhs of rupees (Safar 18/November 26, 1656), containing one big uncut diamond weighing 9 *tangs*

48. *Adab*, 159b-160a.

49. *Adab* 89b-90b, 90b-91a.

50. *Guldashta* (Sh. J. to Q.S.) 6b-9b. (Qutb Shah complains through his agent at Delhi, Abdus Samad).

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equivalent to 216 *surkhs* (or *ratis*), priced at 2,16,000 rupees, besides, other valuable jewels, 20 male and female elephants, 4 with gold trappings and 16 with silver trappings⁵¹—did the trick. It secured the imperial sanction of the invasion of Bijapur. It effected a speedy settlement of the present dispute. Mir Jumla agreed to recall his men from those places in question, but secured the Emperor's approval to hold some additional places in the Karnatak.

The Emperor now replied to Qutb Shah to the effect that Mir Jumla had been ordered to recall his officers from his jagirs, but that "besides the fort of Udgir and its dependencies in the Karnatak, which have long remained under your control, the other *mahals* and forts of the Karnatak that you had made over to the Khan should remain with him as he had remitted to you the revenues of those places and spent a large amount for the up-keep of the forts. There are many diamond mines, located in the Karnatak and of those excavated there, the Khan has made a present of a big diamond weighing 9 *tang* to me. You have never presented such a diamond as *peshkash* to me. Hence I confer the ownership of those places on him...you should therefore, give up the claim of ownership over the Karnatak and its mines. Inexperienced people are unable to protect this country from Adil Shah and the infidels of the Karnatak....." In case of transgression of imperial orders Muhammad Amin Khan would be despatched with a large army to look after the jagirs of his father and to secure peace and tranquillity for its inhabitants against the oppression of the infidels of the Karnatak; and he would be rewarded with those countries which he would conquer from the Karnatak rajas.⁵²

Not satisfied with the Emperor's decision, Qutb Shah took advantage of the Bijapur campaign to renew his aggressions on the Karnatak. A boundary dispute took place between Mir Jumla and the Sultan. Mir Jumla complained to Aurangzeb that the

51. Waris 118a; *Guldashta*, *ibid*; M. U. III. 535 (60 elephants); QN 87; Storia 1.237 (diamond weighing 360 carats, valued at £21600). Aurangzeb wanted to use the posting of Mir Jumla to Bijapur as a screw to keep Qutb Shah away from the Karnatak. As Qutb Shah did not acknowledge the letters asking him not to interfere in the Karnatak, the Emperor became very angry and appointed Mir Jumla to punish Q.S. (Adab 61b).

52. *Guldashta* (Sh. J. to Q.S.) 6b-9b. JBORS, Dec. 1940, 276-277. Ellore (81° 12' E, 16° 42' N) is 46m. SW of Rajahmundry: Rajahmundry (81° 48' E, 17° N) is on the Godavari: both are in the Masulipatam, including the Godavari delta.

Sultan's men had "captured those *mahals* which had been given to him by the Emperor and some *parganas* belonging to him" by crossing the frontier. On the other hand the Sultan protested against the charge (through his *hajib* in Aurangzeb's court) and represented to Aurangzeb that Mir Jumla's men wanted to occupy some *mahals* of Udgir, which belonged to Qutb Shah from before and had been assigned to him by the Emperor", and prayed for appointment of a person to delimit the boundaries. Aurangzeb therefore asked Shah Beg Khan to reach the Karnatak soon, and did not think it necessary to appoint another man for the purpose. According to Mir Jumla's wish, Aurangzeb also instructed Shah Beg Khan to send Abdul Mabud, the experienced and honest Bakshi and Waqianavis, to send a report after holding a preliminary inquiry into the dispute and to settle the matter with Qazi, already advised by Aurangzeb. If it was found that Mir Jumla's charge was true, that the Sultan's officers had actually captured Mir Jumla's territories, except Khammam, which had been assigned to him by the Emperor, then Shah Beg was to eject them from there and restore the palces to Mir Jumla's men; he was to allow only that part of the Golkunda army, that was necessary for occupation of those territories to remain there, to send the rest to Haidarabad and to fix the *dakchauki* of Mir Jumla there as it existed before. On the other hand, if Qutb Shah's charge was true, Shah Beg was instructed to inform Qazi Muhammad Hashim that, according to the imperial *farman* already sent to him, Khammam should again be separated from Mir Jumla's territories and his men should not advance beyond it. Mir Jumla's men should not occupy the *parganas* of Udgir, which was not mentioned in the *farman*.

Aurangzeb asked Shah Beg to act up to these suggestions, to clear up misunderstanding between the two parties by impartially fixing the boundaries, to set up the *dakchauki* of Mir Jumla and despatch Qutb Shah's men to Haidarabad, and to go quickly to Qazi Md. Hashim after deputing Abdul Mabud.⁵³

However, it was learnt from Mir Jumla's letter that Qutb Shah's officers had occupied his territories besides Khammam and

53. *Adab* 160a-7b; (Aurangzeb to Shah Beg); 89b-90b (Aurangzeb to Mir Jumla). Qazi Muhammad Hashim stated the dispute to Aurangzeb who gave him necessary instructions, sent to Shah Beg a copy of the Imperial *farman* and asked the *hajib* at Golkunda, Ahmad Beg to warn Qutb Shah of his designs. 91b-92a (Aurangzeb sent a copy of *Mahzar* of Qutb Shah written to his *hajib* to acquaint him of the falsehoods of the Sultan, whose words were incredible).

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Udgir and had shifted their boundary 160 miles into Mir Jumla's jagir in the Karnatak. So Aurangzeb directed Shah Beg Khan not to send Abdul Mabud and to recall him if he had started and to go quickly himself for enquiry. If the Sultan was really guilty, Shah Beg should chastise his agents who had crossed the boundary and restore the places forcibly seized to Mir Jumla's men and to see that "not even a *kos* of village remains under the Sultan's occupation"; he was also asked not to be negligent and dispose of this matter quickly with the men of Mir Jumla and inform him what happened.⁵⁴

Accordingly Shah Beg enquired into the matter and found that the case of the Sultan was false, that "no territory of Udgir, not even a single village had come under the occupation of Mir Jumla". This was only a ruse to capture some territories of Mir Jumla, in violation of imperial orders. On getting this report Aurangzeb ordered Shah Beg to restore all villages except Udgir to Mir Jumla's men and inform Aurangzeb by writing on a *Kaghaz-i-Kham* of the *Patwaris* the total amount of the revenues of the places occupied by the Sultan's men. Shah Beg was scrupulously ordered not to allow any Qutb Shahi men except the *qiladar* of Udgir to remain there.⁵⁵

It took about 6 months (Jan.-July, 1657) for Shah Beg to settle the Udgir affair and he was selected by Aurangzeb to hold charge there for his good work.⁵⁶

In the meantime, Shahuji Bhonsla, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Mughals in Bijapur and the Karnatak, sneakishly endeavoured to snatch away some portions of the Karnatak with the help of Siddi Jauhar, the Abyssinian *qiladar* of Kurnool.

54. Adab, 160b-161a (Restore all places, forcibly seized, except Kambam which the Emperor had formerly given to him (M.J.) against Aurangzeb's opinion); 91b-92a (Aur. assures M.J. 'Do not think that I would, out of partiality for Q.M., do anything, which would go against your interests. What power have Q.M. and his men got to overstep their boundaries and cast an eye on that country which is really ours and for the good of our prosperity?')

55. Adab, 161a-Sultan Muhammad asked Qutb Shah to recall his men from the mahals of Mir Jumla and to see that they do not cross the frontier fort of Udgir. Do not hold the pass of the *qasba* of that fort, which can by (?) means be assigned to your *gomostas*. Remain content with the boundary which is intended for the protection of the fort and which is just at its foot Do not regard the above as vain words spoken without reflection (Adab, 70a-b).

56. Adab, 161a-b (Letter mentions capture of Kalyani 1st August, 1657).
J. 8

But Shahuji met "defeat after defeat" at the hands of the imperial officers and the men of Mir Jumla, due to the defection of Siddi Jauhar who was evidently alarmed by the Mughal victories in Bijapur. The management of the Karnatak became improved to the satisfaction of Aurangzeb. So he ordered Shah Beg Khan to return by way of the route suggested by Qazi Md. Hashim, after disposing of the affair of Kokkanur and Goramkunda, where Qazi Md. Hashim and imperial officers were stationed, and to bring with him the petition of the Qazi regarding this matter.⁵⁷

The Bijapur campaign had its repercussions on Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions in another way. It prevented him from sending adequate succour to his forces near Madras then dangerously besieged by the local *zamindars*. Fortunately however, Mir Jumla's general Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak, made a surprise attack on the Rayal's plundering cavalry. The Rayal and his "adjutant" Shahuji had to retreat to Arni fort near Jinji. They tried to reinforce their army with the Bijapuris, but could not achieve much success owing to the counter moves of Tupaki.⁵⁸

The part played by Mir Jumla in shaping Aurangzeb's policy and giving effect to his actions with regard to the Karnatak was not inconsiderable. True, he showed great nervousness over the whole affair; but while his feelings of suspicion of Aurangzeb's bonafides were—as we have seen before—unjustified, his nervousness was probably natural. True, Aurangzeb, being the man on the spot, took the necessary preliminary measures at the approach of every new danger. But Aurangzeb was in a sense afraid of the Wazir and was always keen on giving effect to his suggestions. It was Mir Jumla, who suggested to him the necessary diplomatic tricks (e.g. intrigues with Shahuji), directed him about the movements of troops and postings of officers and prescribed punishments to incompetent officers (e.g. Qubad Beg). Finally, with regard to all measures requiring imperial sanction, Aurangzeb was able to do nothing and had perforce to rely on Mir Jumla for inducing the Emperor to approve of an aggressive policy against the Deccan by countering the machinations of Dara, always friendly to the Sultans, and opposed to the Viceroy and the Wazir and who wielded a great influence over the Emperor. The task required

57. *Adab*, 161-b..Kokkanur is in modern Lingsagar district of Madras. Goramkunda (78°. 40' E, 13°. 50' N) is at the southern end of Cuddapah district.

58. Madras to Surat (10 Sept. 1657) EFL. X. 136.

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infinite patience, abundant diplomatic skill and tact, great powers of persuasion accurate knowledge of Deccan affairs, and above all, limitless wealth, enabling one to outbid all other offers. Mir Jumla possessed all these in full measure and he may be described without much exaggeration as the brain of the Mughal policy towards the Karnatak in 1656.

9. *The Karnatak during the War of Succession and after.*

On the eve of the War of Succession, Aurangzeb became busily engaged in devising suitable arrangements for the Deccan. Mir Jumla returning to Aurangabad after his failure to capture Paranda fort in Bijapur, was imprisoned at Daulatabad by Aurangzeb (January, 1658) and his property and artillery confiscated. His Karnatak dominions, too, were now transferred to the government of Aurangzeb. This change in the theoretical position of the Karnatak was at once attended with an improvement in the state of its internal security. To ensure their safety, as well as to guard his rear during his intended advance to Hindusthan for contesting the throne, Aurangzeb endeavoured to conciliate both the Deccani Sultans. Indeed, before marching northwards (February, 1658) Aurangzeb emphasized on Qutb Shah that as the Karnatak had been safe from robbers due to the transfer, he must not molest the people, ruin the peasantry, and create any disturbance there during the absence of the Mughal army, so that along with the theoretical transfer, the administration of the province might be effective in practice. He urged him to guard the frontiers of the Karnatak from enemies, and reminded the Sultan of his past kindnesses and wrote "what I want is friendship with you". In place of the harsh and rude envoy, Mir Ahmed Said, a gentle envoy, Abdul Mabud was appointed.⁵⁹

But Qutb Shah was not dissuaded from his aggressive designs on the Karnatak. He forcibly occupied Gandikota and Sidhaut from Mir Jumla's men, weakened by Aurangzeb's appropriation of his artillery, and completely disorganized the Karnatak while Aurangzeb was preoccupied in the north. It was only after making himself "the supreme ruler in Hindusthan"⁶⁰ that Aurangzeb became comparatively free to turn to the Karnatak, and could

59. *Adab*, 65a-66a; 71b-72a. *Tabrezi*, 55a; *Sarkar*, *Aurangzib*, 1. 335-40 for details of Aurangzeb's worries and actions.

60. *Sarkar*, *op. cit.* 11,473; first coronation of Aurangzeb took place on 21st July, 1658. (*op. cit.*, 615).

adopt a stronger tone towards the contumacious Sultan. He now wrote a sharp reprimand to the Sultan for his hasty and impudent action ordering him to restore all the captured territories of Mir Jumla, who was about to be released from his mock-prison, and appointed the viceroy of Khandesh. The letter is as follows : ⁶¹

"On the whole, when the sum of my prosperity is on the ascendant and my throne even transcends the sky, Mir Jumla whose friendship I gave up for reasons of expediency and error of diligence and who is now passing his days in the fort of Daulatabad, will be released therefrom for his good actions favoured in various ways, and appointed commander of 7000 zat and 7000 suwar as Viceroy of Khandesh, and his property and goods, confiscated to the government, and the Karnatak, (too) will be restored to him as before. So, awake from the slumber of negligence and withdraw your grasping hand from the goods and property of the Karnatak. Immediately on receipt of this order, hand over to Mir Jumla's men the captured forts and *mahals*, recall your men and create no further disturbance in future. Do not interfere in the *dakchauki* of the Khan running from Hyderabad to the Karnatak which was set up according to imperial orders..... Do not make any delay in carrying out my orders. Do not make yourself the target of danger. When the time of forgiveness will pass away, you will get condign punishment for your actions. See that no further letter or reprimand is necessary. The majesty of Padshahi is the replica (sample) of the power of God. Save yourself from it".

Yet Qutb Shah persisted in his aggression. He sent reinforcements to the defenders of the castle of Poonamallee who had rebelled in August, 1658, but had been besieged and subdued by Mir Jumla's general, Tupaki Krishna. Thus in October the Golkonda commander, Quli Beg, not only inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki, who was wounded and taken prisoner, but even subdued the whole district round Madras, including San Thome.⁶²

61. Adab, 67a-b; The Sultan was further ordered not to hinder the *dakchauki* of the Khan running from Haidarabad to the Karnatak and set up according to imperial orders. *Guldasta* (JBROS 287-88). See *Majma-i-Muktubat* (ASB. MS) 92b-94, which gives the date of the letter as 1069/1658—9 (copy of a farman of Shahzada Aurangzeb to Abdullah which was written when there was disorder in the kingdom and change in Shah Jahan's condition).

62. Fort St. George To Bantam (28 Aug. 1656) and Hague Transcripts in EFL. X. 176.

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After defeating Dara at Ajmir (March, 1659) and while engaged in the war with Shuja, Aurangzeb had again to rebuke the Sultan for having neither settled the affair of Krishna Rao, an imperial officer, nor given up the idea of occupying Mir Jumla's estates in the Karnatak. The Emperor threatened to depute the Mir at the head of an army to the south after the end of the war in Hindusthan and to annex Golkonda together with the Karnatak. "The Karnatak has been conferred on him", so ran Aurangzeb's fiat, "as reward by way of imperial favours for his good services and it cannot be taken away by means of false deceits of any one. However you may try, your efforts will prove abortive. Recall your men and give up the forts and *mahals* to Mir Jumla's men.. If you persist in your actions, then after the rains the Hindusthan would be cleared of enemies, Mir Jumla would go with a large army and annex Golkonda together with the Karnatak by force.The time has come of uprooting you. In no time will your palace of honour be levelled to the dust of dishonour and the position of your building would be razed to the ground by the attack of the imperial troops. You will soon wash your hands of your country".⁶³

When Shuja left Rajmahal for Tanda, arrangements were made for the regulation of the affairs of the Karnatak, the scene of repeated conflicts between the Sultans and Mir Jumla. Mir Ahmad Khwafi, entitled Mustafa Khan was sent to the fort of Gandikota for controlling and administering the country.⁶⁴ Thus Aurangzeb's policy towards the Karnatak pulsated with his needs, preoccupations and fortunes during the war of succession.

After Mir Jumla's appointment as Mughat Wazir and consequential departure from the Karnatak, his agent "Tapa Tap" (? Tabatabai) remained as the custodian of Mir Jumla's interests and property at Masulipatam and Golkonda. Friction arose with Qutb Shah's officers over their seizure of goods on Mir Jumla's ships at the port. To the Emperor's remonstrance against it, on the eve of the Bijapur invasion, Qutb Shah replied: "In accordance with (my) repeated exhortations not one officer of the port has the power (? audacity) to seize, on the plea of 10 per cent duty, the property and goods of Mir Jumla, which are on his ships and which belong to the imperial government, and to wrangle about the matter." The Sultan, however, pleaded that the realization of

⁶³. Adab, 66b-67a.

⁶⁴. Alamgirnama, 440; Maasir-i-Alamgiri 27-28.

customs on the merchandise found on the ships of Mir Jumla and of others was a long-standing practice and wished that it might be continued.⁶⁵

In Golkonda, too, "Tapa Tapas" tried, after his master's death, to evade escheat of his property by the imperial government, by removing some "household stuffs and goods" from Mir Jumla's warehouses, before they were sealed by Aurangzeb's ambassador at Golkonda.⁶⁶ So great was Mir Jumla's influence in Golkonda that even four years after his death, his son, Muhammad Amin was highly respected there and his agent or broker, "Mier Mameth Hosseyn Taffa Tappa" (Mir Muhammad Hussain Tabatabai?) virtually acted as master of the port.⁶⁷

65. Tabrezi, 144a-145a.

66. FEF, 1655-60, 273-4.

67. Bernier, 195; Dutch records in FEF, 1655-60.

In 1661 Krishnappa Nayak, Mir Jumla's governor of Poolosere (Pondicherry), was considered by the Dutch to be powerless to protect them against Shahji, who captured Tegnapatam in 1660-61. BDR. 16th May, 1661. p. 126 quoted in Balkrishna, Shivaji the Great, 148,

Sri Vira Ravi Varma of Travancore and the Portuguese

BY

K. N. DANIEL

Tiruvalla, Travancore

The only information regarding this king given by Shangoonny Menon is that the period of his reign was A.D. 1594—1604 (*History of Travancore*, page 96). Archbishop Menezes, who had two interviews with this king, has given us very much information about him, and speaks of him that of "all the Malabar rulers with whom he had dealings, this was the most astute, and crafty, and careful of public affairs", and again Menezes says that this Raja was "extremely clever." Gouvea does not give us his name.

Archbishop Menezes, who was also a political officer, second only to the Viceroy, spent almost a year in Kerala (in 1599) engaging himself in political as well as ecclesiastical affairs. He made Antonio Gouvea, an Austin friar, publish an account of his travels and transactions, in the year 1606 in *Jornada*. This was practically the diary of Menezes. Menezes, it must be noted, was an accurate recorder of facts. No English translation of this Portuguese book is published. I got it translated by Mr. A Soares, M.A., LL.B., Bombay. I shall quote what Gouvea, or rather Menezes, says in this book.

"The Count Viceroy", says Gouvea, "had specially charged him (Menezes) to try to go to the fortress of Quilon to see the state in which it was, and to deal satisfactorily with the petition with which its inhabitants had sent a leading man of business to Goa, who now had returned with the Archbishop. The Vice-Roy had given the Archbishop power to deal with all the affairs when he should visit the fortress. At this juncture the need was greater, because the Rajah of Travancore with the consent of the Queen of Changnate, ruler of the lands of Quilon, was raising near our settlement a fortress, which to the State's great resentment the Rajah had built by a trick; for at first he gave out that he was building a pagodah, but meanwhile the fort was built with seven bastions, and he was working hard to complete it. As the king was not over-friendly to the Portuguese, and naturally inclined to war,

the inhabitants were afraid of a siege, which they had often undergone, and sent for help to the Vice-Roy, asking him to repair the walls and bulwarks; all of which the Vice-Roy passed over to the Archbishop, with instructions to put everything in order as he thought fit, when he should go there. As he was charged with this, he, while passing by the harbour of Cunhale, arranged with the Captain-in-chief of Malabar, D. Luis da Gama that, if God should give him victory, immediately after obtaining it he should set sail and put out to the sea with the whole fleet for Quilon to attack the fortress which the king was building, and to demolish it. To this effect, he, the Archbishop, would be awaiting him there, and would keep ready a "manchua" (boat) in a certain place to advise him whether a landing was opportune. If he sent word that it was, he should do so at dawn, and fall in all of a sudden upon the fortress which was near the shore; he would easily raze it as the Rajah was unaware of this move and as he (the Archbishop) was informed that there were no persons there except workmen. In case he should find that the fortress could not be razed from the sea, he should send the fleet to Cape Comorin to convey the ships from the south, as usual, and sailing by Quilon he should return with the rest, sailing along the coast and looking to its needs until they returned to Goa".—(*Jornada*, Liv. I, Cap. XII).

Gouvea describes the Archbishop's first visit to Quilon as follows:—"At dawn they set out for Quilon, where the Captain and all the Portuguese awaited him at Caidaval,¹ the place where land the boats sailing along the river, which lies half a league away from the town, and escorted him till the gate of the city, as even the land was not safe owing to the strained relations between the Portuguese and the King of Travancore and the Queen of Changanate in the matter of the fortress they were building".....

"He paid a visit to the Church of the Christians of St. Thomas which is somewhat outside our settlement. As the fortress which the king of Travancore was building lay near the Christian Church, on the pretext of seeing the place and the environs of the church, he saw and noted it well, and even had it measured, seeing that it had already enclosed a large area with seven bastions well built, the one facing the sea being the most powerful and largest of them all. After observing this and informing himself of the designs of

1. Caidaval is either Kadavil (=landing place), or Kaidavāram, the name of the landing place at Quilon.

the king, he resolved to complete the fortification of our fort which many years ago had been commenced and then stopped, so that in case of siege or danger it might be in a condition to be defended without difficulty. He had for this purpose brought money from Goa, in case he should have to put up some works. He told them to raise a large bastion in the main part of the defence of the land-side with all speed lest the queen of Changanate should impede the work by preventing the lime and stones which came from her territory; without declaring what he had in mind about the bastion; he gave money to persons who were carrying on building operations, on oath of secrecy, that under the pretext of their private works they should gather all the lime which his officers had said would be needed for building the bastion and the portion of the wall which would unite to it to another smaller which was already raised up. In this fashion he filled the place with lime and materials without the queen realising that they meant to set to work on the fortress. As they were inside, the work was pressed on with speed and a fine bulwark was put up, which is now the main defence on the land side. The inhabitants gave it the name of St. Aleiso because the Archbishop had it built".

"There he waited for the captain of Malabar, to whom he had agreed to send word if it was feasible to attack the fortress of Travancore. Seeing that on this occasion the king was far away at the boundary of his territory engaged in a war which was moved against him by the Naik of Madura, and that in the fortress there were no more than fifty artisans, who were labouring to put finishing touches to it, the rest of the work being now over, with an official who made the disbursements, and that there was not likely to be obstacle or resistance to its destruction, he sent a ship without any one being aware of it to await the captain at the place which was pre-arranged, and wrote to him that he could come and raze the fortress without difficulty, as there was nothing to prevent him."
—Liv. I, Cap. XIII).

The ruins of these bastions near the old church of Quilon are there even now; a pretty big mound of earth is in the St. Aloysius High School compound, Quilon.

Gouvea again :—"He (Menezes) asked the Raja (of Porca, i.e., Porakkad in Ampalappuzha)² that he and his allies, the Rajas of

2. Porca appears as Bakare, Barake, etc. in first century writers; correctly purakkāṭu, 10 miles South of Alleppey harbour.
J. 9

Marta (Marutūkkulangara)³ and Batimena (Venmany)^{3a} should not join that of Travancore, and should not accept the adoption that he intended, news of which had reached him while at Quilon. The Rājas had territories bordering on the river⁴ by which from Cochin one can sail to Quilon, and it was the Archbishop's object that this route should always remain open to the Portuguese, and, in case the Rajah of Travancore should lay seige in winter⁵ when our fleets could not help the fortress by sea, at least the river should be free to render help from Cochin. This would be impossible if the chiefs whose lands lay along the river were to join Travancore and blockade this passage. With this intention, it was understood, the latter wished to bring about an adoption according to the Malabar usage with these two Rajahs. For when this is effected between two kings, and the adopted dies, his kingdom is inherited by the other, and in life they defend each other as father and son. By this means many small kingdoms go on vanishing, and their larger neighbours growing, which is always prejudicial to the Portuguese. For the larger the number of these Rajahs, the less powerful they are, and all the safer are our fortresses and cities, as each wishes our friendship not to be oppressed by the other. The Rajah of Porca promised to use all his good offices to bring to nought these pretended adoptions by the Rajah of Travancore. On this the Archbishop bade him farewell, and the Rajah accompanied him with all his retinue to the beach".—(Liv. II, Cap. IV).

And again :—"The Rajah of Porca was already waiting for the arrival of the Archbishop, and had arranged with the rulers of Marta and Batimona to meet at Porca on a day fixed by the Archbishop, to treat all together of the treaty of friendship with the Portuguese, according to the orders sent by the Viceroy, and to upset the adoptions intended by the Rajah of Travancore—a matter

3. This place is near Karunāgappalli. It is said that there are ruins of a palace at Marta. Gouvea tells us that Māvelikkara was under Marta, that Marta, Betimena, and Porca were allies, and that Kāyamkulam ('Calicoilon') was at war with Marta and Betimena.

3a. Gouvea says that Katipeli (Kārttikapalli) was under Batimena. This king visited Menezes when he was in the church of Kārttikapalli. The church of Betimena, Gouvea says, "though it is in Batimena, yet its site is in the land and dominion of Panappeli." Chēppātu was under Panappeli. (See postscript).

4. This 'river' is the Vempanad backwaters.

5. The S.W. monsoon season of June-August.

discussed at Keramallur.—⁶ in order to besiege, as was thought, our fortress of Quilon, as shown by the forts he was building near ours. These Rajahs came on the appointed day, and the Archbishop immediately sent men to wait upon them with presents of valuable jewels, which is the best method of negotiating with the Malabar rulers. Then together with that of Porca, they saw the Archbishop and, after discussing the business, they came to an agreement and swore that they and the Portuguese would always remain on terms of friendship, one with the other, and, if the fortress of Quilon which was in their neighbourhood, should be at war, they would aid it with men and provisions. They promised not to join or form mutual affiliation with the Rajah of Travancore, and they swore to keep the agreement secret, all of which they fully kept. In the end as a mark of assurance and confirmation of the mutual agreement, they, the Rajah on the one side and the Archbishop and Roque de Mello Pereira, late captain of Malaca, on the other, joined hands three times as their way is.”—(Liv. II, cap. VII).

The Archbishop's second visit to Quilon and the interview he had with the Rajah of Travancore on the backwater (Aṣṭamuṭi) are described as follows :—

“From Kallequilon (Kayamkulam) the Archbishop vended his way to Quilon. Throughout the day they found no place suitable for the boats to land and the sailors to rest from the labour of rowing, and to prepare the meals. So the Archbishop told them to touch a point in the land subject to the Ranee of Changanate,⁷ which was in the possession of the Rajah of Travancore, affiliated to her. But when they tried to land, about 2000 Nairs came up, and with guns prevented the landing, because this place was near the fort of Mamuge⁸ which was being built, a league below Quilon, before an estuary formed by the river⁹ with the sea. This fort the Portuguese State resented more than the others near Quilon, because it was clear he meant thereby to prevent help being sent, in case of war, to Quilon from Cochin by the river¹⁰ during the monsoon. As he knew that the Portuguese were aggrieved at this fort, he had placed these 2000 guns for its protection. Seeing the determined attitude of the Nairs, he bade them loosen the cables,

6. Koramallur=Kuṭamālūr, the original seat of the Raja of Porca.

7. This is the latter half of Jaya—Chinganātu=Quilon.

8. Mamuge is now Māmuka.

9. This river is the backwater there.

10. This river is the backwaters.

of the boats, and move on to Quilon.¹¹ At this very time the Rajah was coming down in two large *Manchuas*,¹² well fitted up and full of a strong contingent of gunsmen, to see the work of the fortress. He saw from afar what his men had done, and making out from the number of boats that it must be the Archbishop and his retinue, without waiting for him at Quilon, he sent a boat with an official to give a hearty welcome to the Archbishop, and tell him that he had seen the discourtesy his men had offered him, though probably not knowing who he was. Since it was late and he could not have dined, he would be glad to have the Archbishop's company at dinner, and as the chief dish would show him the heads cut off from the chief culprits of that discourtesy. The Archbishop could with his own eyes see the fort, about which the Portuguese complained, and the little harm it could do them. The Archbishop thanked him for his courtesy, but begged to be excused, as he was not quite fit and wished to reach Quilon as soon as possible. That is why he could not accept the Rajah's kind offer. As for the Rajah's men, he had no reason to punish them, but rather to favour them for their vigilance and diligence; for as they saw a number of boats, and His Highness was at war with his neighbour of Kaliquilon, they, not knowing who they were, had hastened so diligently to do their duty and prevent the landing. If the Rajah should punish any one on this account he (the Archbishop) would take grievous offence. As for the fort, there would be time enough to treat of this, as he was to remain some days at Quilon."

"What the king's intention was in making the Archbishop land and inviting him to dinner, he could not make out, for of all the Malabar rulers with whom he had dealings, this was the most astute, and crafty, and careful of public affairs. Many thought that once the Archbishop was in his power, he would detain him as a hostage against the plans, as he fancied, of the Portuguese against his fortresses, and the grievances he nursed against them. Others fancied that he wished to poison him in the course of the dinner, as he was much afraid of him; and others again, that he wished to win him over to his friendship. Any of these supposi-

11. Quilon, south of Māmuka.

12. Portuguese, *Manchua*="a large sort of boat, single-masted *Pattimar* in coasting trade, holding 10-40 tons," says Gundert in his *Dictionary*, 1872, p. 772. The Malayalam forms are *Mancu*, *Manci*, and *Vanci* (മന്റു, മന്റു, വന്റു). He defines *Pattimar* as "a native vessel larger than *manci*; Portuguese *Patamar*" (p. 607).—Ed.

tions might be true, considering his craftiness and cunning. While these messages were exchanged, it was the great wish of the Archbishop to seize him in the river; and if he had men of his disposition, he certainly would have done so. This very plan he had discussed with the Captain of Cochin, D. Antonio Noronha before his death, that, when the Archbishop was on his way to Quilon, the captain, on the plea that the rivers were blockaded on account of war with Kalequilon, should give him six Manchuas, full of troupes, to go along with him for his protection; and on the very first evening the Rajah of Travancore would come out in the river to visit the works of the fort of Mamuge, as he often did, he would seize the Rajah, and sailing out (into the sea) by the estuary they would make with him for Cochin. Thus would the State be relieved of his ambition, the two fortresses would be demolished; nor would he be set free unless the safety of the fortress of Quilon was completely guaranteed. Further they could carry him off even up the river (=the backwater), as they would soon be getting into the jurisdiction of his enemy, the Rajah of Kalequilon. All this could be easily done according to the Archbishop's plan. Indeed we have seen how he met the Rajah in the river. But it could not be executed owing to the demise of captain D. Antonio; for the Archbishop would not confide it to any other person, and the person who filled his place provisionally had neither the means nor the authority to carry it out."

"Seeing the Rajah so poorly escorted, the Archbishop called one of his boats which had on board persons in authority and, to mark the effect, mentioned that it might not be a bad plan to arrest the king and hurry him on to Cochin, thereby relieving the pressure on Quilon and the fears in which its inhabitants lived. When these opposed the project, he summoned Roque de Mello Pereira and said to him, 'If you think it feasible to seize the Rajah without great risk and carry him off to Cochin, let orders be given and let us fall on him.' But Roque De Mello saw that the boats had few soldiers apart from the Archbishop's servants, who were not equipped for war, and the Rajah had two boat-loads of Moors armed with guns, all ready to die for their king, while their own boats were very heavy and slow vessels, which in the shallow river passes might be surrounded by thousands of Nairs. Besides, the weather was yet monsoonish and unsuitable for running out of the mouth of the river and sailing down the coast. Those and other considerations set forth by Mello, made the Archbishop resolve not to make any move. 'Let the Rajah of Travancore' said he, 'thank me for my good will; If I had a fighting force with me, or if I

thought I would have the luck of meeting him, he would not have supped today in piece'".—(Liv. II, cap. VIII).

His second interview with the Rajah of Travancore:—"The day after his (Archbishop's) arrival in Quilon, the Rajah of Travancore sent his chief minister to wait upon the Archbishop, with a message that it was important they should meet at an appointed place. But the Archbishop without any mention of a place, replied that the Rajah might fix a day and he the Archbishop, would await him in his house. The Rajah, therefore, decided to call upon him in the fortress, a thing which he had never done; nor had he ever seen Quilon (i.e., the Portuguese fort there), or entered any Portuguese settlement. On the day of the visit, the captain with the people awaited him some distance from the fortress. When the Rajah came in sight of the gate of the fortress, he stopped a while with his eyes on the ground as if musing, and said to the interpreter who was a native Christian in a voice heard by the Portuguese: 'What king in the world has over risked what I am risking today?' 'What risk are you speaking of?' asked the interpreter. 'My honour, person, and life,' said the Rajah. At which asked the interpreter, 'Your Highness, how are these endangered?' 'In that I got,' said the Rajah, 'into a fortress of people who fancy I wish to destroy it, that I am their enemy, and am preparing to make war upon them.' Then the interpreter and a Portuguese who knew the vernacular and followed the conversation, said, 'Your Highness need have no fears, for you are safer here than among your vassals; for besides the Portuguese being friendly, you came on the word of the Archbishop, who would not break it for a thousand fortresses.' And said the king 'Yes; it is clear that if I had come without it, you would be right in taking me straight from this gate to the lunatic asylum.'"

"He then proceeded and on entering the gate, he stopped short with his eyes on the ground; but next he raised them suddenly with a strong resolution, and began to walk faster; and controlling himself, he returned to the Portuguese and said, 'Let us follow the fortune of the king and enter, for with it there is nothing to fear.' The Archbishop came out on the steps of the house to welcome him, and there they embraced each other with great show of friendship. When they retired to a chamber, the Rajah told all his men to withdraw, except a body guard who remained behind his chair, and two chief councillors who remained by him. The Archbishop followed suit, and kept only a page, and Roque de Mello Pereira, his companion, and D. Pedre de Noronha, com-

mander of the land forces, who had wintered at Quilon, and Francisco de Campos Tavares, auditor general who had come from the South and was waiting for the transhipment of pearls, and the Captain of the fortress, and Fr. Nicolau Espinola, a Jesuit, in whose college he was living, and who was conversant with the vernaculars, and Fr. Francisco Roza. Before them all the Raja gave his reasons which were well thought out, as he is extremely clever, the purport of which was that he was a friend of the Portuguese, and had always been such, and had favoured their churches and the (Syrian) Christians he had in his domains, and (the Latin Christians) along the coast of Travancore. As for the two fortresses the Portuguese complained of, he built them to defend himself against the enemies. They well knew that in the (far) south (where his capital was) he was at war with the Naik of Madura, his neighbour and a mighty and powerful lord. On the north he was warring with the Rajah of Kalequilon (north of Quilon). It was against those two that he was raising fortifications, each in the proper direction. The Archbishop replied that if the Portuguese were aggrieved at his building of these fortresses, it was not out of fear. For if they were so minded, in one hour they could raze them to the ground, however many people he might collect, as he might deduce from other Portuguese exploits. But it was not customary for friendly rulers under the guise of friendship to raise fortifications near ours, which they would not allow their enemies. The Rajah said in reply that the forts he was building were not close to ours, for that of Mamuge was nearly a league away, and that of Upper Quilon at such a distance that no battery could reach from there our fortress and the city; whence it was evident that it was not meant against us, but against our enemies. The Archbishop might send men to see and measure the distance, and if it were not as he said, he (the Rajah) would have it demolished. 'It is not the distance,' said the Archbishop, 'that troubles me; for the closer it is to us, the more subject it would be to our artillery. But is it friendship to have built it in spite of the written request of our Captain? But, since you say that it is not aimed at us, but at your enemies, please answer only one question: With what intention are your fortifying in the fortress of Quilon the bastion on the sea side twice as strong as the others, since by the sea which was solely ruled by the Portuguese, only these can make war on you?' The Rajah was much perturbed at this question, and turning to his officials said in Maleame (=Malayamma=Mala-yalam), a tongue which he thought none of ours would understand: 'With this man say little and that with care—he knows

too much.' (This was understood by Fr. Francisco Roza who also knew Maleame). He then hastily turned to the Archbishop, and without giving an explanation of the bastion, exclaimed, 'If you are aggrieved at it, you may put in Portuguese garrison there. I shall hand it over to you, and the whole fortress'. Then said the Archbishop, 'Neither the Portuguese nor Your Highness has any need of a fort in that place, the best would be to raze it, that it might not be the cause of a breach of friendship which is so fast between Your Highness and the Portuguese.' The Rajah then requested him to send men to inspect it all, and he would find that it would do them no harm. As for his (Rajah's) intentions, he swore by all his faith and on the head of his nephew, heir to the throne, and by other solemn oaths that he had always been friendly to the Portuguese and never had a mind to go to war with them, nor lay seige to the fortress of Quilon. The very same oath he was willing to take for the future, and he, therefore asked the Archbishop to draw up terms of peace."

"They then left, and the Archbishop had the fortress inspected by Roque de Mello, D. Pedro de Noronha, and the auditor general Francisco de Campose Tavares, and also had it measured in its extension, and the distance between it and our fortress of the sea. As the State was not then inclined to make war upon this Rajah, and the Council determined on this, he made some provisional terms of peace, which the council later heartily approved of, the affair of the fortress remaining undecided, so that the State could take later whatever decision it thought best. Under these terms the Rajah is at peace and in friendship with the Portuguese. This agreement was then of great importance, whether to calm the fears of the Christians of all that coast subject to the king, fears which were being roused, or to relieve the commotion in the fortress of Quilon which was in expectation of war".—(Liv. II, cap. VIII).

The adoption scheme of the Raja collapsed. Gouvea says:—"At this very juncture, before the Archbishop's departure from Quilon, the Rajahs of Marta and Batimene (see notes 3 and 3a) came to meet that of Travancore in a Pagodah, where all three had agreed to make the mutual affiliation of their kingdoms, which was to be sworn in that place as being sacred and as a guarantee of their oaths. As those Rajahs had had a secret understanding with the Archbishop at Porca, they came on the fixed day to meet the Rajah of Travancore, and raised such controversial points as led to total disagreement and the annulment of the contract they had made about affiliation. The Rajah of Travancore keenly felt this

and kept on saying that they had broken their word. The Archbishop came to know of his disappointment, and, dissembling what had passed, sent men to sympathise with him in the resentment he had felt with the two Rajahs, and offered himself, as a friend of those Rajahs, to act, if he wished, as an intermediary to bring about harmony. The Rajah thanked him for his offer, but added that, as these Rajahs were savages who did not know how to keep their word nor had a kingly policy, they would break their word to the Archbishop as they had to him, and it was no use having further dealings with them. Thereupon the Archbishop sent envoys to the two Rajahs with presents to each and thanks for having kept the promise they had made to him and the ruler of Porca, and the way they had acted with Travancore."—(Liv. II, cap. VIII).

Gouvea again :—"The Rajah (of Kundara east of Quilon), bade then withdraw a little except the prince and his ministers, and he and the Archbishop sat down to treat of some affairs of his kingdom, and in particular of the need his subjects on his death would have of protection against the Rajah who might like to appropriate his lands. The Archbishop vouched that whatever had been promised by the Portuguese, would be kept without fault, and now that His Highness was a brother-in-arms of the king of Portugal, the latter could not fail to attend to matters of importance to that kingdom. He then asked the Rajah if he knew of the pretensions of Travancore over his domain, and how after the Rajah's death the latter meant to gain possession of it on the plea that it belonged to his niece the Queen of Changanate (=Quilon), who had adopted him. The Rajah said he was well aware of it, and he and his people were much grieved, as they all saw that once the Rajah of Travancore entered there, he would plunder them and treat them with contempt, and would rule them by his Nairs (=soldiers) and hold them almost as slaves. They had sought a remedy, but had not found it, nor had they power to resist him, for Travancore had waxed mighty and had many well trained men-at-arms."

"The Archbishop too feared nothing more than this, for by becoming the lord of Kundara the ruler of Travancore would be all round the fortress of Quilon, and be able to cut off provisions and pepper at will. So he told the Rajah that, if he wished to follow his advice, they would be free from the great loss and fear they were in. At which the king and all the officers hastened to

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say that, if the advice was profitable to their kingdom, they would all follow it. Then said the Archbishop, 'Your Highness, and prince and officers, do you hand over your realm to the king of Portugal, your brother, and he shall set a Rajah to defend it with the Portuguese aid, and thus will Travancore be prevented from being lord of your lands. They all replied that the proposal was agreeable, but they would consult over it. This was no new idea for them, for they had tried to give the kingdom to the Rajah of Cochin to defend them, he being a powerful prince and having the Portuguese to help him in his affairs. But he had declined because of the distance from his territory and the division thereby of his forces".

"The Rajah drew aside with his men and for a long while they discussed the matter in council. At length they returned to the Archbishop who was awaiting them, and the Rajah said that he, the prince, and all his council accepted the offer which he was making in the name of the king of Portugal, his brother, and would transfer the kingdom to the Archbishop's hands, that in the name of the king of Portugal he might appoint some one to protect them, on condition that he would previously swear on the Christian cross and the book of his faith (= religion) that he would not deliver it to any one whose name he had not first revealed to them and who might not obtain their consent. They in turn would swear to hand the kingdom over to the person whom with their consent he might appoint thereto. This was soon done, and the Archbishop asked for a missal and a cross of the church, and laying his hands on it swore that, in case the Rajah and his officers should give over the kingdom to him, he would not transfer it to a Rajah or Lord who might not first have their explicit consent. They too swore in their own way they would deliver it to the person the Archbishop might under such terms appoint. All this was set in writing which the Rajah, the princes and officers signed. And the Archbishop passed other documents (palm-leaves) which were written diligently by the Archdeacon (George) who accompanied him, and who (as a Travancorean) was very skilled in the writing of palm-leaves. These were signed by the Archbishop. Then the Rajah gave his to the Archbishop, and the latter gave to the Rajah those he had written, and all were publicly read. And at the time of exchange, there resounded the instruments (of music) and there was as much rejoicing as before.—(Liv. II, Cap. IX)

SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA OF TRAVANCORE

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Postscript

There are the place-names Vettiñeni, Panniyepalli, Panappalli, and Kulikkulangara in the Cheppad-Haripad region visited by Menezes. These names sound very much like Batimene, Panappalli, and Coric Langer of Gouvea. But Venmani is a high hill country far away to the east of the above region.

In his unpublished *Historia de Malabar*, 1615 A.D., Fr. Diogo Gonzalvaz, S.J., gives the stations on the canal between Quilon and Cochin. There are 18 such *juncao* (customs) stations mentioned. Of these the first is Cais do valle = Caidaval of Gouvea (see footnote 1), then No. 4, Kayamkulam (Calecoulao), then Nos. 5 and 6 in "Vetimene", "in the great inlet", and "of the Poru Caymal" respectively. These two customs-houses "on the canal between Quilon and Cochin", and situated "in Vetimene" could not have been in distant, inland Venmani.—T. K. J.



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The Substance of Rāmānuja's Śrī Bhāshyam

(continued from page 85 of Vol. XXVI, Part I.)

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VIII

For acquiring knowledge of the Ultimate Cause one should study the Vedas, for these are the source of the highest knowledge. This is the conclusion, which emerges from the first adhyāya of Śrī Bhāshyam. But the Vedas are not by themselves definite or unambiguous. They leave the mind of the ordinary student in much doubt and perplexity. In determining their real meaning the Smritis of the great rishis are known to be an indispensable guide. The Kapila Smriti for instance is a great work of that kind, and it embodies a species of the Sāṅkhyan system. Now, at the beginning of the second adhyāya the dialectical objection arises from the observation that the Vedānta Vākyas cited in the first adhyāya for establishing that the Brahman is both the material and the efficient cause of the universe are in apparent divergence from the Kapila Smriti. Could these Vedānta Vākyas convey a meaning contrary to that expressed by the Kapila Smriti?

The Vedānta Vākyas are the highest pramāṇa, and they reveal whatever can not be known through pratyaksha or anumāna. The Smritis are based on the Vedānta Vākyas, for they are the outcome of constant meditative reflection on the meaning of the Vedas, and as such they are a crystallization of memory. From this point of view they are only secondarily important, primary importance attaching to the Vedānta Vākyas themselves. But they are necessary for rendering clear the meaning of the Vākyas. The Kapila Smritis are the work of a great rishi, but they do not assert that the Brahman is both the material and the efficient Cause. There are, however, other Smritis, equally great, like those of Manu, that echo the spirit of the Vākyas, and state beyond doubt that the Brahman is the Cause in both the senses. To the dialectical

objector these are not of much consequence. In his view the Kapila Smṛiti is specially significant. The texts revealing the meaning of the Vedas are generally classified under two heads, Tattva grānthis and Ācāra grānthis. It is the former that are metaphysical, while the latter may be said to be ethical and to deal with codes of religious conduct and practice. The Manu Smṛiti and the like deal mainly with conduct, and if they refer to the nature of Ultimate Reality they do so only by the way. The Kapila Smṛiti on the other hand being primarily metaphysical is in closer proximity to the Vedānta Vākyas, which are nothing if not metaphysical. Hence our interpretation of the Vākyas must pay special regard to the Kapila Smṛiti rather than to any other. This is the substance of the purva paksha in this context.

Rāmānuja explains how Vyāsa has stated the above objection and given the necessary reply in his sūtra, beginning with the words, "Smṛityanavakāśa dosha prasanga etc."¹ He points out that not only do the Smṛitis of the great sages like Manu echo the Vedic truth that the Brahman is the one Ultimate Cause of all that is, but the no less prāmāṇic Bhagavad Gita and Mahā Bhārata also clearly reiterate it. As for the distinction between Tattva and Ācāra it is necessary to remember that Ācāra is itself a kind of Ārādhana or offering to the Lord. It is often said that work is worship, and there is a special sense in which this may be understood here. Right conduct, in conformity with the spirit of the Śāstras, must be deemed to be a kind of worship or an offering. In referring to it Manu and others have clearly and at great length described and dwelt on the nature of the Supreme Being, who is the ultimate object of such worship. To assert that the Ācāra-grānthis do not deal with Tattva is not to state the whole truth. The great Smṛitis are no less important in their metaphysical meaning than in their ethical emphasis. The Manu-Smṛiti, which is accepted as the most important of this group, clearly states that the final object of all worship is the Parabrahman, who is no other than the Lord Nārāyaṇa.

Along similar lines does the purva-paksha of Yoga Smṛiti also proceed. It argues that the material cause of the Jagat is Prakṛiti or Matter, while the Lord is only the efficient cause, and that Prakṛiti does not form part of His Śareera. That Prakṛiti does form part of the Paramātmā's Śareera and that the Paramātmā (with

1. Śrī Bhāṣyam, 2: 1: 1.

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Prakṛiti as His Śareera) is not only the efficient but also the material cause of the universe is the contention of the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, who draws support for this position from the Smritis as well as the Vedānta Vākyas. Here the dialectical objector takes his stand on reason and logic, and shows that interpretation in consonance with Kapila Smṛiti (in preference to the others) satisfies the requirements of inference and experience. In deciding the question of causal connection, he points out, it is necessary to make sure of what might be described as substantial identity between cause and effect. There is no such substantial identity between the Jagat and the Lord to justify the belief that one is material effect of the other. On the contrary it is essential disparity that confronts us as marking their relation. Neither practical experience nor theoretical reason would countenance the view that the Lord, who is all perfection, is the cause of this Jagat so full of imperfections. On the other hand, it is the opposite view taken by the Kapila Smṛiti, which should carry conviction.

Vyāsa's reply to the foregoing objection is contained in the sūtra, "dṛśyatetu" (2: 1: 6.) It reveals that there are instances, where we do not see material identity between cause and effect. Do not finger-nails and hair grow on the human body, and worms out of flies? Yet what similarity could we observe between them and their sources? In what sense is the principle of Sālakshanyam invoked here to be understood? Does it mean that the cause and the effect should agree in every respect, or in some one respect? If it be said that the agreement is in some one respect, we could easily find such agreement between any two things and in that case anything could be the cause of anything else. If, on the other hand, it is agreement in every respect that would justify causal connection, this must be deemed an impossible condition. Sālakshanyam implies sameness or identity in regard to those characteristics that distinguish or mark off an object. That quality for instance in clay, which distinguishes it from other objects, is also found in pot, as its essential mark; similarly is there an identity in lakshana between cotton and cloth. Even in cases where this sālakshanyam is not apparent we admit causal connection. Such is the phenomenon of hair and nail growing on the body. It is thus possible to show that the Brahman could be the cause of the Jagat, however apparently different the two may be. It is also pointed out here that the argument emphasising sālakshanyam as a necessary condition of causal connection is based on reasoning independent of the Śāstras. There are two types of

reasoning that must be distinguished from each other, viz. that which is in conformity with the sacred texts and that which is independent of them. In the latter it is difficult to find any finality, for any argument once adduced, however convincingly, in support of a proposition always runs the risk of being overthrown with equal show of conviction, so long as it rests merely on reason unaided by any support from the Śāstras. It is the Śāstras that set a limit to the flights of speculative reason. Reasoning in conformity with the texts is, therefore, considered superior to that divorced from them. Such a preference is most appropriate in regard to questions of an ultimate character. That the Brahman is the Jagat-kāraṇa is established in the light of this superior type of reasoning.

The dialectical objector now proceeds to state his case from another point of view. Addressing the Viśiṣṭādvaitin he would argue: "the Brahman according to your interpretation being the cause of the Jagat possesses the *çit* and the *açit* as its *śareera*. It has, therefore, association with a body. But body-association necessarily involves experience of sorrows and joys, as in the case of the Jiva. Hence it must be admitted that even the Brahman is subject to these, and that would mean the obliteration of all essential, natural difference between the Jiva and the Brahman. If on the other hand you maintain that it is not the Brahman with any *Śareera* but without it, that is the cause of the Jagat, you will have to admit that the Brahman is subject to change (*Vikāra*), for is it not your contention that the Brahman *transforms* itself into the Jagat?"

Vyāsa's answer is that body-association does not by itself warrant the inference that the Brahman is subject to the joys and sorrows of *Samsāra*. It is the law of Karma that subjects the Jiva to these through body-association. The Śrutis say that the liberated Jivātman is free to form any kind of body-association, should he wish it, and visit the various worlds if only to please his fancy, but that having once been emancipated he remains unaffected by pleasure or pain. The Parabrahman is certainly above and beyond the operation of the Karmic law, and no manner of body-association can subject Him to the pleasure-pain vortex. Hence the natural difference between the Brahman and the Jiva remains intact.

Turning now to the objections raised by the Vaiśeṣika school we find that they are based on the difference between cause and

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effect. In maintaining that the Brahman is the material cause of the Jagat and that the Sūkshma-*cid-aḥid-viśiṣṭa* Brahman becomes the *sthūla-*cid-aḥid-viśiṣṭa** Brahman the Viśiṣṭādvaitin would seem to identify the cause with the effect. But causal connection necessarily involves difference between cause and effect, which manifests itself in many respects. In speaking of a causal connection between the clay and the pot we do not seek to destroy all difference between the two. What we mean by "clay" is not the same as that which is meant by "pot". Both the idea and the expression are different in each case, and the objects to which the two ideas refer are also different from each other. We may sum up the points of difference in the following manner. The cause appears as many, while the effect may be one. Several threads (cause) woven together constitute one cloth (effect). How can the one be identical with the many? The cause *precedes* the effect, does *not* have the *same form* as the effect, and is put to quite a *different use* from the effect. Thus there is a difference between the two in point of sequence, of form and of utility. We cannot make use of clay in the same way as we use a pot. Unless the former is changed into the latter we cannot, for instance, use it to contain water. What is clay at one time must be changed into the pot subsequently, if the purpose for which the latter is intended is to be realised. If clay and pot were identical, where is the necessity for the potter's skill? Lastly, if there were no difference between cause and effect, the distinction between "permanent" and "impermanent" would itself become meaningless. Only when an object, which was not in existence at one time, comes into being at another as the result of the work of certain causal factors, may we hold that the object has a beginning, or that it ceases to exist, when destructive forces operate.

The Vaiśeṣika school believes in what is known as *Asatkārya-vāda*. According to this view the effect is not contained in the cause but brought into being as a new entity. It, therefore, emphasises the difference between the cause and the effect. Its objection to the Viśiṣṭādvaitic position is that, in regarding the Brahman as the material cause of the universe and holding that it is the same Brahman, who was in an unmanifest state before the creation of the Jagat, that becomes manifest in creation, the Viśiṣṭādvaitin identifies the Brahman with the Jagat, and makes it impossible for the one to be considered as the cause of the other.

Rāmānuja reflecting the mind of the great Vyāsa replies that causal relation is such that it accommodates both identity and

difference. Cause and effect are both one and not one. Essential identity does not rule out modal difference. In a sense the pot is clay, but when we consider their specific states (*avastha*) we clearly see all the points of difference between them enumerated by the Vaiśeṣika school. The Brahman and the Jagat are one in a very important sense. Yet, there need be no difficulty in admitting that the former is the cause of the latter.

This view should not, however, be taken as unqualified identification of the Jagat with the Brahman, for such a position would lead to its own difficulties. Śrutis like "*tattvamasi*" seek to establish the absence of difference (*abheda*) between the Brahman and the Jiva, which is but part of the Jagat. But if the Jiva were identical with the Brahman, how could we explain all the suffering undergone by the Jiva and yet maintain that the Brahman is absolutely free, omniscient and omnipotent? There is the absurdity of a Perfect Being seeking his own suffering and submitting to it, and in addition there are other Śrutis, that speak of the Brahman as different from the Jiva, raising a chorus of protest. If we attempt to reconcile the Bheda and the Abheda Śrutis by means of the idea of the Jivātman's association with Prakṛiti or matter, we should only be pushing the difficulty one step further. The question would still remain, is not the Jivātman after all the same as the Brahman? Has the Brahman (i.e. the Brahman that has become the Jiva) known itself or not? If it has, we have still to explain how the perfectly free and almighty Brahman with all its omniscience comes to seek its own suffering. If it has not known itself, how could it have any claim to omniscience? Upon this dilemma is based the objection that the absence of difference (*ananyatvam*) between the Jiva and the Brahman cannot stand.

Rāmānuja pays equal regard to both the points of view, and his conception of the Sūkṣhma-ḥid-aḥid-viśiṣṭa Brahman becoming the sthūla-ḥid-aḥid-viśiṣṭa Brahman is the key to the reconciliation of the two apparently incompatible sets of Śrutis. The Sūtras, "*adhikantu bheda nirdeśāt*" (2:1:22) and "*āsmādivaḥṣa tadanupapattih*" (2:1:23) clearly bring out the fact of difference. The first expresses that the Upanishads do reveal a natural difference between the Jiva, who is the abode of myriad sorrows, and the Brahman, who is absolutely untainted by any trace of sorrow, while the second elucidates the difference by means of illustrative references bringing into bold relief the contrast between the two. Such a natural diversity between them is not, however, without its counterpart of a substantial unity binding

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the two. As it is the same Brahman that exists before and after the creation of the Jagat, there is sufficient room to accommodate the conception of non-difference or *ananyatvam*, and because the *git* and *açit-vastus* form the *Śareera* of the Brahman both before and after the creation of the Jagat, there does exist a real difference between the Brahman, the *Paramātman*, who is the soul, and the sentient and non-sentient entities, that constitute the body. Unity thus gets harmonized with diversity.

The next objection deals with the need for an auxiliary cause or *Sahakāri-kārana* usually recognized in everyday experience. When the potter works at his wheel he makes use of certain indispensable auxiliaries, such as a wooden stick, a pail of water etc. If we should understand the Brahman-Jagat causal connection in the light of practical experience, we must provide for an auxiliary cause as well. The question is, how can the Brahman be the material, efficient and auxiliary cause of the Jagat, all in itself? Vyāsa's answer is contained in that part of the Sutra (2: 1: 24) which cites an analogical instance by saying "*Kshiravaddhi*". Milk changes into curds (or water into ice). Milk and water are the respective material causes, and their appropriate effects follow without the utilization of any *Sahakāri-kārana*. Likewise does the Brahman become the Jagat, a *Sahakāri-kārana* being superfluous. Moreover, the Brahman is revealed as possessing infinite power and limitless capacity, and there is no need for such a supreme Being to depend on any auxiliary factor for creating the Jagat.

Let us now turn to the question of a "final cause" for the creation of the Jagat. What is the purpose for which the Brahman creates the universe? Could there be a purpose at all in the *Para-Brahman*, who is described by the Śrutis as "*avāpta-samastakāmah*",—one in whom nothing is wanting, who needs nothing and aims at nothing,—one who is disturbed by no unfulfilled desire? Desire and purpose are marks of imperfection, and the plenitude and perfection of the Brahman leaves no room for any purpose in Him. What then could be the final cause of creation? The key to this problem may be given in one word, *Leela*. Creation is a form of divine sport. It is a joy, not a task. It is a spontaneous effusion, not an effortful realization; an outpouring, not an achievement. It is not directed towards the fulfilment of any purpose not otherwise realizable. Upon this answer comes the rejoinder that it is really inexplicable how the Supreme Lord, who is hailed by the most sacred hymns as perfectly just and impartial, could have created a world of such inequalities and disparities, where one finds

diverse grades of beings, such as the human, the sub-human and the super-human, each with its own peculiar lot of pleasures and pains. Surely, the Parabrahman of the Śrutis could not have been the cause of such a world as ours. Vyāsa's defence against this argument takes us to the law of Karma. The seed determines the tree, though the soil is equally indispensable for its growth. The possibilities of the oak are already latent in the acorn. We cannot gather grapes of thistles or figs of thorns. The manifold disparity between creature and creature is due to the just operation of the inexorable law of Karma. Thus the conception of Leela on the one hand and of the law of Karma on the other seek, not only to relate causally the Lord Creator with the world of creation, but also to keep them distinct.

Thus in the first Pāda of the second adhyāya Vyāsa has stated some of the possible objections to his system as revealed by other schools and systems, and has also given an answer to every one of them. Now in the Second Pāda he proceeds to point out certain defects of a general nature present in systems like the Sāṅkhyan and the Buddhist. That the Vedānta Vākyas relating to the Jagat-kāraṇa do not support the Sāṅkhyan position has already been shown in more than one section. Here the system is taken up for a general criticism, and its defects are exposed.

The Sāṅkhyan philosophy recognizes two real entities, *cit* and *açit*. The *açit* is non-sentient, but capable of modifications. It exists primarily in the form of the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, and is known as *Moola Prakriti* or Basic Matter. The *Moola Prakriti* is the ultimate cause of all things, but is not itself the effect of anything. Out of it are born the *Mahān*, the *Ahankāra* and the five *tanmātras*. These seven modes of *Prakriti* function both as cause and as effect. Besides these there are sixteen others that are pure effects and do not function as causes. They are the five elements (*Pañca-bhūtas*) viz., fire, air, earth, water and ether, the five organs of perception (*Jñānendriyas*) such as the eye and the ear, the five organs of action (*Karmendriyas*) such as the feet and the hands, and lastly the mind (*Manas*). Thus the non-sentient or *açit* entity exists in twenty-four varieties. Over and above these is the *çit* which is the twenty-fifth, and it is called the *Puruṣa*. It is a unique being, distinguished alike from the *Moola Prakriti* and its twenty-three modes. It is not the cause of anything, as the *Moola Prakriti* is. It is not the effect of anything, as the sixteen different modal effects are. Neither is it a combination of cause and effect, as the seven other modes are. It undergoes no change

THE SUBSTANCE OF RĀMĀNUJA'S ŚRĪ BHĀSHYAM 191

or modification. It does not act; it does not move. It is pure consciousness. Being absolute and unqualified it is attributeless. Although as the ātman it may be in association with the manas or the antahkarana, which is a mode of the Moola Prakriti, it remains unaffected and untouched by the association, like a dew-drop on a lotus-leaf.

If the Purusha is pure even in the sense of being attributeless, how does the awareness of one's self as the doer or the experiencing subject arise? How does any one happen to say, "I do this" or "I experience this"? The Sāṅkhyan answer is that the pure Purusha is really not the experiencing subject, and has no attribute of any kind, but as the Buddhi, which is an outcome of the Moola Prakriti, possesses the attributes of action and experience, those attributes seem to belong to the Purusha, owing to the failure to realise the absence of any connection between the Self and the Buddhi. A clear, colourless crystal, when viewed in association with an yellow flower for instance, appears itself as yellow, and this appearance would persist so long as we do not realise that the crystal and the flower are distinct and separate. According to the Sāṅkhyan theory it is the Buddhi that issues through the sense-channels (like water from an overfilled lake) and contacting the objects of the external world acquires knowledge of the form, "this is a pot," or "this is a cloth". It is the buddhi that forms association with the objects of the external world, not the Purusha. The two are really distinct, but when the Purusha imagines that the things of the world bear an intimate relation to himself and not merely to the buddhi, he forges on himself the chains of sorrow and suffering. This is Samsāra. Relief from it would result the moment one acquires true knowledge of one's self. This in barest outline is the Sāṅkhyan position.

In revealing the defects of the Sāṅkhyan position Vyāsa points out that it is incorrect to hold that the Moola Prakriti brings into being the Mahān etc., without the aid or the association of the Purusha. A simple illustration would make this clear. We know that when we fashion a chariot out of wood or build a house with brick and mortar, the change from the cause to the effect is always brought about by an agent, a purusha. Wood gets made into a chariot and brick and mortar built into a house only through the skilled manipulation of the materials by an agent. When there is neither the carpenter nor the bricklayer, the materials do not of their own accord get transformed into a chariot or a house. The materials are themselves non-sentient without any kind of capacity

for self-movement. The moulding hand of a purusha (as a doer) is absolutely indispensable. Similarly, when we say that out of Moola Prakriti comes the jagat, as effect follows from cause, we have not stated the whole fact. Prakriti or matter is really the Paramānman's śareera, and it belongs and is subservient to Him. Such a śareera becomes the jagat, not of its own accord or independent of the śareeri, but under His unerring guidance and in the light of His infinite wisdom.

The untenable character of the Sāṅkhyan position is further exposed in the light of the following argument. Human conduct and experience reveal a certain sequence. Knowledge comes first. Desire, effort and action follow. We first *know* of an object. We are then impelled by a *desire* to attain it. We *strive* to reach the desired goal and in doing so we *act*. When the end is attained, we *experience* the fruits of our striving. We recognise action only where we see knowledge and experience,—knowledge initiating it and experience integrating it. Knowledge belongs to a sentient being; so also does experience. A non-sentient thing can neither know nor experience. Hence it cannot act. Further, everyone of us has an unmistakable self-awareness as an agent, a doer as well as a knower. This awareness lies at the root of all conduct. It is a kind of self-cognition, which is not overthrown or contradicted by any subsequent understanding or enlightenment (abādhita prateeti). Hence it must be accepted as authentic. The Purusha is the agent. He is the knower and the doer, as well as the one experiencing the fruit of his actions. The Sāṅkhyan dualism of Prakriti and Purusha is, therefore, neither able to stand by itself, nor support its theory of Samsāra and Moksha.

The next is the Buddhist system taken up for consideration. The four direct disciples of the great Buddha were Yogācāra, Sautrāntika, Vaibhāshika and Mādhyamika. Each develops in his own way the metaphysical teachings of the master. For Yogācāra, as for the Advaitin, there is nothing real but Jñāna, but while the Advaitin says that the Jñāna is permanent and unchanging, Yogācāra maintains that it is fleeting and momentary (kṣaṇika). The world of experience is a Bhramā, an unreal and insubstantial appearance. Running through the fleeting, fragmentary perceptions there lingers an illusion that it is permanent and substantial. This illusion is the cause of Samsāra. When we realise the momentary character of knowledge, we are free and attain Moksha. Sautrāntika, the second disciple, also holds the same view about knowledge, but he adds that the world, which is the object of our know-

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ledge, is known through inference and not sense-perception. Sense-perception is incapable of revealing anything fully. We perceive through the senses only that part of it which is exposed to our sense contact; the rest is all a matter of inference. This is true not only of any particular object in the world, but of the world as a whole. It is the third disciple, Vaibhāshika, who takes the view that direct sense-perception reveals the world. All the three agree that there is nothing real but jñāna, and the jñāna is momentary. In Mādhyamika the fourth disciple we find the consummation of the Buddha's teaching. According to Mādhyamika there is neither jñāna nor jagat. Nothing exists anywhere in any real sense. He does not feel bound to give any reason or adduce any argument in support of his contention, for he holds that only he, who accepts the existence of anything, has to explain or account for anything; not one, for whom nothing exists. Only when the jagat or the ātman is admitted to exist there would be need for any explanation of it; and those that believe in their existence cannot satisfactorily account for them! Mādhyamika, however, proceeds to show that the explanations offered by the realists in support of their position are all untenable. Let us take the idea of causal connection. It is said that the lump of clay is the cause of the mud-pot. But when the pot is made, the lump of clay as such has ceased to exist. Hence the true cause of the mud-pot is the *non-existence* or the *abhāva* of the lump of clay. How can there be an effect of a non-existent cause? The jagat is spoken of as an effect of that kind, and it must therefore be dismissed as non-existent. Again, does a thing come into being out of itself or out of something else extraneous to itself? In the former alternative there are two defects; firstly, it would mean that everything is already in itself (*ātmāśraya*) emptying the concept of causation of every significance; and secondly, it would obviate the very need for bringing an effect into being (*prayojanābhāva*). The cloth is an effect, of which cotton may be the cause. Only if we admit a stage, when the cloth did not exist, could there be any use (*prayojana*) in attempting to change the cotton into cloth. When the effect is already there in itself, there is neither meaning nor purpose in trying to "produce" it. In the latter alternative that the effect is born of something other than itself (*paratah-utpatti*) the difficulty is that anything may come out of anything else. Why should the lump of clay alone be the cause of the mud-pot? That things have no origin or *utpatti* is thus shown. Now, only that which has come into being can pass away; only that which has a beginning can have an end. When nothing is born, nothing can pass away. But things

seem to come into being, exist for a while and pass out of existence—all this is *bhramā*. When the Advaitin objects that without an *adhiṣṭānam* or base there can not be a *bhramā*, the Mādhyamika replies that if other things such as the knower, the object known, the defect or *doṣha* in the process of knowing could be unreal, we may well go the whole length and dispense with the ground or the *adhiṣṭānam*, too.

Vyāsa's reply is that knowledge must be distinct from the Jagat as the object of knowledge, and the knowledge should not be *kṣaṇika* or momentary. This must be granted, before we can vouch for consistency or freedom from chaos in our experience. Consider the implications of a statement like, "I see now the same pot, which I saw some days ago". It is a case of recognition in present experience of an object as identical with one of past experience, and it implies the continued existence of the experiencing subject as well as of the object experienced. It also means that the subject and the object are distinct and different. Except under these conditions the function of memory would be impossible. Recall and recognition are necessarily based on prior cognition, and all the three stages of memory-function are part of one's own mental experience. It was *I* that had perceived *this pot* previously, and it is *I* again that recall the prior perception and recognize the object. Again, when I say, "*I know this*" I necessarily imply the existence of three distinct factors, the knowing *ātman*, the known object and the knowledge. If there were no distinction between the knower and the knowledge, we might well go a step further and assert that all the three are one and the same, which is obviously untenable.

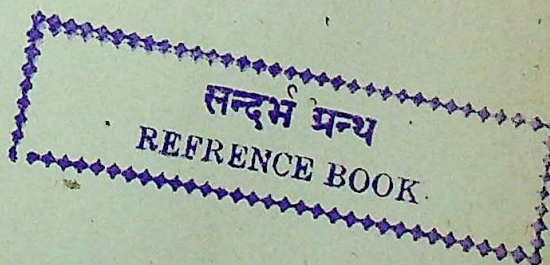
In its extreme form the Buddhist metaphysics would take everything as unreal (*Sarvam śūnyam*). Now, is *this knowledge* real or unreal? Being part of "everything" it alone cannot be real, for if we granted that it was, we would be denying the unreality of *the whole*. If, however, we said that this knowledge (that everything is unreal) was itself unreal, we should be accepting the position that everything is real. Turning to Mādhyamika in particular Vyāsa would ask: "You assert that all this appearance which we call the world is nothing. What is it that you designate by the expression 'nothing'? Is it *Sat* or *Asat*? In either case there must be something, for your negation cannot be an absolute negation. You have not shown that it is *atyantāsat* or that it is *tugghya*, something which is not even an object of knowledge, right or wrong. This world is admittedly an object of perceptual

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knowledge. The burden of proof is actually on you. Your contention that no explanation whatever is necessary for the non-existent is, therefore, quite unacceptable. Again, when you say that a thing does not exist, you are bound to imply that a *certain* thing does not exist in a *certain* place and at a *certain* time. It would mean that the place and the time are both real, that the thing, which is not here, is elsewhere and possibly at another time, and that although the specific thing is not here, other things are. Finally, for knowledge of any kind there must be a Pramāṇa. What is that Pramāṇa, which reveals the knowledge or guarantees the truth that nothing is real? Is that Pramāṇa itself unreal? Or is it real? If the latter, your Śūnyavāda gets falsified. If the former, it must be admitted that the Pramāṇa for the knowledge that everything is unreal being absent the philosophy of absolute nihilism cannot stand".

Besides this refutation of Buddhism the adhyāya also contains a critical reference to a few other systems, like the Pāsupata, considered at some length and shown to be untenable, each in its way.

(To be continued)



Translation of a Persian letter from Sardar Hira Singh of Punjab addressed to Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur, mentioning the horses of Marwar and victory over Multan.

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PT. BISHESHWARNATH REU

Jodhpur

Beloved of God having His Choicest blessings.

Kind friend, Raja-i-Rajgan Maharaja Mansingh Bahadur.

‘Sat Sri Akal’

After Victory to God ; letter written from Savait Riyasat : It may be known to that friend's affectionate heart that his letter conveying sentiments of friendship reached him in auspicious times. It gave him great pleasure and happiness. Such sort of exchange of letters tends to strengthen and deepen the existing friendly relations.

He was very much grieved to hear about the calamity of passing over from small-pox of Kanvar Chhatar Singh. None can do anything against what is ordained by God. That friend should try to console himself any how and pay attention to the affairs of government.

That friend (Sardar Hira Singh) had heard many a time about the swift and fine breed of horses and it often came to his mind to call for swift and fine horses of that city (Jodhpur).

If fine and swift horses may be had in those parts (Jodhpur State) then that friend may kindly write in his letter, so that a trusted person may be deputed (by Sardar Hira Singh) for the purchase of steeds. In these days of good fortune when Khalsaji is enjoying divine assistance and times are favourable he has deputed leaders of repute and grand nobles to conquer Multan. Brave knights, signs of victory, and Sikhs waving flags of victory dug covered mines and reduced the besieged fort of Multan to helplessness. In the end the fort of Multan was conquered by the lion-like warriors and the efforts of the Sikhs having the grandeur of Alexander. Nawab Muzzaffar Khan was slain and victory achieved by the Sikhs. He (Hira Singh) conveys congratulations to that friend (the Maharaja) for the gain of victory achieved recently. He hopes that he (the Maharaja) will always consider that friend (the Sardar) desirous of meeting him and would send letters full of sincere friendship.

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‘Citerior India’ (Another Rejoinder)

BY

REV. A. C. PERUMALIL, S. J.

Patna

We read the ‘Rejoinder’ of Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum in August, 1947 number of the JIH. We are not in the least surprised at the proofs and objections raised by him; they do not at all weaken our thesis, nor touch our conclusion. But we are surprised at the way in which he has dealt with the subject.

The Christian writers, both Greek and Latin, from the 2nd to the 13th century A.D. have written on various subjects. Their complete works have been collected and edited by Migne, Paris, in the 139 tomes of the Greek Patrology and in the 217 tomes of the Latin Patrology. We have carefully read through and examined the complete works of these authors in the above mentioned 139 tomes of the Greek Patrology and in the 217 tomes of the Latin Patrology. We have also read through and examined the complete works of the Greek and Latin classical writers from the 5th century B.C. onwards concerning India and its near western countries. After this we published the results of our study in the JBORS, Patna, under the title ‘The India of the early Greeks and Romans from the time of Alexander’s invasion till the Fall of Alexandria, 326 B.C. to 641 A.D. Although we have examined the Greek and Latin authors from the 5th century B.C. till the 13th century A.D. we have taken for our thesis only a limited period of 9 centuries, i.e. 326 B.C. to 641 A.D. Our thesis deals not with “other nations” but with *Greeks and Latins only*. And our conclusion at the end of our long study, against the current opinion of modern Western authors who hold that India of the ancient Greeks and Latins was either Arabia, or Ethiopia or both, is that “The India of the early Greeks and Romans from the time of Alexander’s invasion in 326 B.C. to the Fall of Alexandria, in 641 A.D. is the one and only India which is bounded on the West by the river Indus, on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the mouth of the Ganges, and on the remaining side by the Indian Ocean”.

This conclusion of ours seems to have tickled the feelings of Mr. Joseph. Ever since the publication of our thesis in 1942 he began to write annotation after annotation on it in the different journals of India in order to discredit our conclusion. In all those journals he has misrepresented us to his readers. A typical example of it can be seen in the ‘Rejoinder’ of his in the August 1947 number of the JIH. On page 175 he writes: “The above conclusion is not legitimate, because—1. He has *not* examined *all* the Greek and Latin writings of the period. 2. Twenty of the writers whom

he examined have *not* been examined *thoroughly* as we find from his expression 'as far as the present writer has examined****Eusebius' (p. 365), and 'as far as we are aware' (of 19 Latins, p. 374 of JBORS, 1942)".

Mr. Joseph is trying to make his readers believe that we have not examined *all* the Greek and Latin writings and that they have *not* been examined *thoroughly*. To prove this statement of his he has quoted two phrases from our study, namely 'as far as the present writer has examined' and 'as far as we are aware'. Has Mr. Joseph quoted us properly to give his readers the correct impression intended by our passage? We have written: "As far as the present writer has examined the complete works of Eusebius in the Migne edition of the Patrology he has not found any passage which may be cited to show that Eusebius calls Arabia or Ethiopia, India" (JBORS 28 (1942. 4. 365); "The same is the case with the nineteen Latins who, as far as we are aware, have used the term *India* alone 98 times in their writings" (Ibid. 374). Do these passages convey the meaning intended by Mr. Joseph? We leave to our readers to judge it.

We wrote our thesis after a thorough and complete examination of the authors concerned. If, therefore, any one has any doubt as to this fact then it is up to him to produce documents from Greeks and Latins of 326 B.C. to 641 A.D. and to prove that we are wrong in our statement. This is why we wrote at the end of our reply to Mr. Joseph in the JIH 24 (1945), 3, 123: "To conclude, our thesis: 'The India of the early Greeks and Romans, from the time of Alexander the Great to the Fall of Alexandria in 641 A.D., is the one and only India which is bounded on the West by the river Indus, on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the mouth of the Ganges and the remaining side by the Indian Ocean; and 'The Citerior India allotted to and evangelised by St. Bartholomew the Apostle is the Konkan Coast of India' stands until it is shown not from an ambiguous or indifferent text but from *clear* ones from known Greek and Latin authors prior to the seventh century A.D. that there were Indias in Africa and Arabia;...." To this Mr. Joseph has only this answer: "I am unable to produce any ancient text (Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc.), which says *totidem verbis* that Arabia is India" (JIH 26 (1947). 3. 183).

In the light of the above facts and sources quoted we do not think it worth our while to carry this controversy any further. We think we have written enough concerning the India of the ancient Greeks and Latins. Any impartial critic can find out the truth of the matter.

'India', a Continuation of Egypt and Ethiopia

A Résumé

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

Trivandrum

I. INDIA = ARABIA

Apropos of Fr. Perumalil's Rejoinder "Citerior India" in *JIH* for August 1948, the following fresh passage from *Itinerarium Alexandri*, a Latin work of 345 A.D., written for the emperor Constantius (317—361), i.e. of about the year of the birth of Rufinus (born 340—45, baptized c. 370, died 410 A.D.), has also to be considered by scholars interested in the study of the pseudo-Indias and pseudo-Indians of the ancients. I came across the passage on 5th May, 1948, and brought it to the notice of scholars by publishing it in *The Examiner* (Bombay) of 22nd May, p. 315.

The *Itiner. Alex.*, 110, says: "India, taken as a whole, beginning from the north and embracing what of it is subject to Persia, is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians, and is on every side hemmed in by the ocean—that interfluent sea of Hippalus, from which branches off the gulf which shuts in the Persians. Under this name of India is comprehended, you must know," (Constantius, and other readers) "a vast extent of country which breeds a great multitude of races of men, and especially of gigantic beasts, such as elephants and acre-long snakes; for in comparison with these, leopards, lions, or even tigers are tame."—(McCrindle's *Ancient India* --- *Classical*, 1901, p. 153).

The Ethiopians here is the land of the Ethiopians, viz. Ethiopia. The portion subject to Persia was N. W. India and its western neighbourhood, and also Carmania and some other parts of Persia. For Philostratos of Lemnos, born prob. in 172 A.D., flourished about 230 A.D., refers (in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*) to the Carmani of Persia as "an Indian race, and civilized", and to the pearl-diver of "Balara, ----, a mart for myrrh and palms", west of Carman in Persia as "the Indian diver." (See Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx's *Apollonius*, 1873, p. 55). "From the north," i.e., from the Himalayas. The ocean is the Erythrean Sea of

Hippalus and the Bay of Bengal combined, and not Oceanus, the Atlantic, which the ancients regarded as surrounding the old world. "On every side"—except the north; on the other 3 sides were the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. The gulf is the Persian Gulf. "Races": those of the Indian sub-continent, formerly called the Ethiopians of the east (e.g. by Homer, Herodotus, and Ktesias), and also the Carmanians, etc. of Persia, and the races of Arabia. In the days of the author, c. 345, the Ethiopians were called Indians, e.g. by Aphrahat the East Syrian (275—345), and as Fr. admits, by Pseudo—Kallisthenes (4th cent.), and later, Procopius (6th c.), both Greek writers.

The author of *Itiner.* implies, it is clear, that India as a whole, part of which he exhorts Constantius to wrest from Sapor of Persia, extends from the Red Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and includes Arabia and the lower portion of Iraq—Iran, and Baluchistan—Afghanistan, as well as the sub-continent south of the Himalayas. McCrindle did so understand him. For in a footnote he says: "Our author was perhaps betrayed into this astounding error by the fact that the name of India was often, in his time, applied to the regions along the Red Sea lying to the south of Egypt. Geographical science had entered on its retrograde course even before his time." Yes, not to mention the distant Phoenicians, Syrians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Latins, even our neighbours the Persians had pseudo-Indias west of Persia. See my 'Citerior India' in *J I H* 1947, pp. 176—180, 183-4, and 187.

II. FR.'S ALL, MINUS *ITINER.* 110

Even though Fr. contends that he "examined the Greek and Latin authors from the 5th century B.C. till the 13th century A.D.", and *thoroughly and completely* examined all such authors of "9 centuries, i.e. 326 B.C. to 641 A.D.", he *does not appear* to have seen the above passage from *Itiner.* For in *The Examiner* of July 10, p. 401, he says that the above passage of 345 A.D. "does not appear to be" from "a Latin contemporary of Rufinus" (340—45 to 410 A.D.), because "the manner of narration is typical of a writer of the Middle Ages" (about 1000—1400), long posterior to 345. No unbiased reader can interpret the passage differently, and assert that the India continuous to Egypt—Ethiopia is only India proper, the Indus—Himalayas—Ganges—Comorin—Indus India of Fr.'s incorrect conclusion of 1942, still clung to in 1948. There need be no doubt about the date 345 A.D. for *Itiner. Alex.*, for McCrindle says (*op. cit.*, p. 150) that "Letronne has convincingly shown that

it must be referred to the later” of the two proposed dates 338 and 345, against Mai who assigns 338 to the work.

III. ITINER. ALEX. CUM RUFINUS

Now, collate with the above passage the Latin Rufinus’ “Citerior India *adhaerens* Aethiopia”, occurring in his *Historia* written about 25 years later, and assume that India is his own term. Readers with no pre-fabricated conclusion based on a non-thorough study of all documents, will see that this India “near or attached to” Ethiopia can be only Arabia, and not our India. See this *Journal* 1947, pp. 179—82. Suppose also that the above specification of India as adherent to Ethiopia is not Rufinus’, but Ede-sius the Phoenician’s. Could the India of that ilk—an India adherent to Ethiopia and situated between Ethiopia and Parthia—be possibly our India?

IV. FR.’S CHALLENGE

Fr. challenges me to show from clear Greek and Latin texts prior to the 7th cent., and not ambiguous or indifferent, that there were Indias in Africa and Arabia. Neither I nor the scholars in Philadelphia, N.Y., Chicago, London, Birmingham, Manchester, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, whom I consulted have come across a text of that sort. Has not Fr. found such a text during his “thorough and complete examination” of all the Greek and Latin authors of the period? Or, has he unwittingly skipped such a passage on Arabia, as he overlooked that of 345 A.D. cited *supra*? Or, has he wrongly interpreted such a passage, as he has given the *wrong* sense of ‘projecting much in the direction of’ to *adhaerens* (= near, or attached to) in Rufinus’ ‘Citerior India *adhaerens* Aethiopia’?

Let us provisionally concede that there is no clear Greek or Latin statement that ‘*Indiam omnem plagam Arabiae accepimus*’ =we take as India all the regions of Arabia (like Mar John’s Syriac sentence about the name India applied to Ethiopia). The passage of 345 A.D. from *Itiner.*, and Rufinus’ phrase “Citerior India *adhaerens* Aethiopia” will prove amply that Arabia was called India in the fourth cent. A.D., if they are not wrongly interpreted. See also the presumptive evidence set forth in this *Journal* 1947, pp. 183-4.

V. INDIAS OF GREEKS AND LATIN

Fr.’s alleged thorough and complete examination of Greek and Latin works (not all, but only 139 *plus* 217 tomes, *plus* several

classical works from the 5th c. B.C. onwards, an imposing number 356 *plus*?, *minus*, unfortunately, the tiny little passage of 345 A.D.) resulted in his conclusion that in *all* of them India connotes our India. But my examination of the relevant portions of Herodotos, (c. B.C. 450), Strabo (c. B.C. 24 —c. 21 A.D.), *Periplus* (c. 75 A.D.), Ptolemy (c. 150), Rufinus (c. 360) and others, as well as *Itiner. Alex.* (345 A.D.) has led to the conclusion that the semantic content of the term India varied through the centuries from Skylax downwards as follows:—

1. *The Indus region and the Thar Desert.* Herodotos, on the authority of Skylax the navigator, says: "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; --- the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands." (III. 98). Onesikritos, the pilot of Alexander's fleet (326 B.C.) says that the country of the Mousikanos in Upper Sindh (not Mūṣika in the southern part of the West Coast of India) "is situated in the most southern part of India."—(Strabo XV. 21). Again, "Alexander who had the chief share in discovering this country" (India) --- "ascertained that the mountainous and northern country" (the Upper Indus region and the Panjab) "was the most habitable and fertile, while the south country" (not South India, but the Thar Desert and the Sindh region) "was onewhere waterless and elsewhere liable to be inundated by the rivers and scorched to the last degree by burning heat, fit enough to be occupied by wild beasts, but not by human beings."—(*Ibid.* 26). Herodotos and Onesikritos seem to have been unaware of, or ignored, the Jumna—Ganges—Brahmaputra region, and the cis-Vindhyan Deccan portion, which were really the easternmost and southernmost parts of the peninsula. Prior to Herodotos India must naturally have signified at first the Indus region to which the western passes admitted the Persians.

The Hebrew Old Testament too does not seem to recognise the regions beyond the "Hodu" mentioned in *Esther* 1:1 and 8:9 (c. 130 B.C.) in the expression "from Hodu as far as Kish" (in Abyssinia). I take this Hodu as a Hebrew corruption of Sutudru (Sutlej), and not of Sindhu (Hindu, Hidu, Indus).

2. *The sub-continent of India (nearly)*, as in Megasthenes (302 B.C.), Eratosthenes, etc.

3. *The above, minus the Scythian region of the lower Indus*, etc., as in the *Periplus*, c. 75 A.D.

4. No. 2 above, plus vast regions west of the Indus, and east of the Ganges, as in Ptolemy (c. 150). For 3 and 4 see this *Journal* 1947, pp. 175-6.

5. *Pseudo-Indias*, plus No. 2, as in the extracts from *Itiner.* and Rufinus (both 4th c.).

VI. INDIANS—ETHIOPIANS

In the same century, in c. 375, Epiphanius in his Greek work *Adv. Haeres.* observes that through Berenice Indian wares are distributed by Indian merchants over the Thebaid, and in Alexandria, and Egypt and Pelusium in Roman territory. Priaulx says in *op. cit. supra*, p. 236, that possibly "like the goods the merchants also were 'Indian', i.e., Arabs of either Ethiopia or Eastern Arabia, the Indians of the ecclesiastical writers of this age", like Aphrahat. The reason for the confusion between real Indians (fair-complexioned as in modern times) of the Indus region and of the littoral Western Satraps' region down to the Tapti, appears to me to be the fact that the Indians there (Aryan, and black non-Aryan), *unlike* those of other areas, had long adopted the dress and manners of the foreign rulers of those 2 regions, and changed their features and complexion through miscegenation with the Persians, Syrians, Jews, Greeks, Bactrians, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, White Huns, etc. from about the 6th cent. B.C. to the days of King Gollas (Mihira-kula) mentioned by Kosmas (c. 525 A.D.). Here we recall that the black Indians of the above regions and other parts of our India were anciently called Ethiopians of the east in the days of Homer (*Ody.* I, 23-24, ca. B.C. 900).

VII. AS FAR AS—THOROUGHLY AND COMPLETELY ?

Fr. claims not only that he examined *all* the Greek and Latin works of 326 B.C. to 641 A.D. (*except* at least the passage of 345 from *Itiner.*), but also that the examination was "thorough and complete," in spite of the limiting phrase "as far as" used by him in the case of 20 writers' works. He leaves it to our readers to judge whether as far as implies that those works "have not been examined *thoroughly*" (as I have said).

VIII. NEITHER THOROUGH NOR COMPLETE

Readers have to consider the following points also:—

1. Fr. has seen India occurring *only four times* in Rufinus' works, of which there are at least ten, as far as I know. But actually there are *six Indias* found in a short extract covering only three pages, from Rufinus' *Historia*. This shows that his examination of

even one short passage *cited by himself* is *not thorough or complete*. And even in his present rejoinder (1948) he has not said that 4 is a slip of the pen for 6, 14, 40, or some other number of Indias found in the not-less-than-ten works of Rufinus.

2. Again, there is the term Indians used in Rufinus' works. But Fr.'s Bibliography of 1942 does not record the number of Indians in Rufinus. This also shows that his examination of at least one work, *Historia*, is *neither thorough nor complete*.

3. In 1942 he gave Rufinus' *adhaerens* the unwarranted sense of 'extending towards'; and I requested him to examine Rufinus' works again and find out whether even that author himself had used *adhaerens* or other words from the same root in the sense proposed by Fr. He re-examined the works and admitted in 1945 that Rufinus' *adhaerens* had not that sense of extending towards. This too shows that his examination of at least Rufinus' several works was not thorough or complete in 1942.

4. He did not see the passage quoted *ante* (Sec. I.) from *Itiner.* of 345 A.D.

5. He wrongly regards the above *Itiner.* as of the medieval period. These two defects also show that his examination was *not thorough or complete*.

6. In the 18th book of John Malala's Greek *Chronography* (8th cent. according to Fr.) India seemed to him in 1942 "to be Ethiopia and Arabia." That suspicion ought to have put him on his guard. And, showing him later that non-Latin and non-Greek writers had pseudo-Indias and Indians (like the Syrian Aphrahat's Ethiopian Indians, the Syrian Abdias' 2 Indias other than our India, and other pseudo-Indias of the Persians and Hebrews), I requested him to restudy the connotations of the Indias in Greek and Latin works, after classifying them under 3 heads: (a) the author's own term India, (b) India in quotations from non-Greek and non-Latin people's works, traditions, etc., and (c) doubtful instances. But he has not yet published the results of such a restudy. He still *wrongly assumes* that all Indias (including, e.g., the doubtful instance in Rufinus' 'Citerior India *adhaerens* Aethiopia') in a Greek or Latin work are the author's own term. This assumption has made his examination *very defective and unreliable*.

7. If, as Fr. claims, he has examined *all* the (600, or 700?) Greek and Latin works of the 9 centuries, why is it that in his

Bibliography of 1942 he has not recorded the number of at least the Indias and Indians in those works? His list of Indias, Indians, Brahmins, Ganges, etc. comprises *only* the names of 42 ecclesiastical writers (Nos. 4 to 45, 2nd to 13th century). Surely there are Indias and Indians in other works of the period down to 641 A.D.—e.g. the several *Peripluses*, Ptolemy, *Itiner. Alex.*, Philostratos of Lemnos' several works, and many others. Incidentally it may be pointed out that in his list of the above 42 there is no ecclesiastical writer of the 13th century, nay, no author from 650 A.D. to the 13th century.

It cannot be pleaded that in his *Two Apostles of India* (proper, St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew) Fr. Heras, the reputed historian, has accepted Fr. Perumalil's conclusion of 1942. I leave it to scholars to judge whether my arguments for ancient *pseudo-* or *deutero-* Indias, against Fr. Perumalil's conclusion of 1942, and Fr. Heras' approval, are valid or not. I do not plead that I have on my side Fr. Carpentier, Fr. Thurston, Prof. Bevan, Dr. Mingana, Dr. Medlycott, Fr. Hosten, Priaux, McCrindle, and others.

IX. NO DOUBT

I confirm what I said in IB and IC of my Rejoinder (1947, p. 175) :

(a) His conclusion of 1942 is *not legitimate* as he has *not* examined *all* passages, *even if* he went through *all* the Greek and Latin works of B.C. 326 to 641 A.D. He has yet to prove that before arriving at his conclusion of 1942 he had access to, and had examined, *all* the above works. I do not think that all those works, published and unpublished, are available in India. By 1942 did he go through *all* the works of even Rufinus?

(b) His conclusion is *not correct*, because the Indias of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, and of the extract from *Itiner. Alex.* and Rufinus are not his Indus—Himalayas—Ganges—Comorin—Indus India.*

* The controversy will now end.—Editor.



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Reviews

AN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE
by N. J. G. Pounds, M.A., Ph.D.—Published by G. Harrap &
Co., Ltd., (1947)—pp. 540.

This book was originally intended for use as a text-book for the higher forms of English schools; but it was subsequently extended in its scope so that it might be useful to the intelligent lay-reader. It traces the historical geography of Western Europe and the Middle East through ancient and medieval ages from the earliest epochs of civilization to the days in which the Modern Nations had their definite birth and shape. The succeeding part of the book covers the Modern Age from the epoch of the great discoveries down to the 19th century; and the third part deals with the contemporary political scene, a large part of which is taken up by the territorial problems of the Western Powers and by the changing panorama in the political situation of Europe and the territories of Soviet Russia. And, finally, the problems of the Imperial Powers in other regions have been outlined. The special interests of Great Britain and of the United States have come in for treatment. Latin America and its particular problems, including the attempts at the realization of what has been called Pan-Americanism, have also been adequately dealt with. In the Pacific the interactions between China and Japan, and the interests of the U.S.A. and Britain have naturally been noticed. Throughout the treatment the influence of climate, topography and the relationship of land and sea masses has been described in a relative measure of fullness. Political Organization cannot altogether emancipate itself from the influence of geographical factors and the old maxim of Mackinder as to the "geographical pivot of history" still is an active principle in political evolutions. Thus geographical determinism in the evolution of states is to be studied most carefully; and the conceptions of the states that have hitherto held the field should receive the necessary modifications, because biological factors alone cannot explain all the phenomena marking the rise and decline of states and empires.

The book is a happy and useful mixture of historical material, geo-politic data and information supplied by the operation of essentially geographical factors and its survey of the lines of recent

political developments into the present decade has made it a useful basis for the study of present-day problems.

C. S. S.

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE JAIN CANONS (with commentaries)—An administrative, economic, social and geographical survey of Ancient India based on the Jain Canons, by Jagdish Chandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D., of the Ramnarain Ruis College, Bombay—New Yord Co., Ltd., 1947—pages 420.

The author of this ambitious and vast survey is of the view that the Jain Canons collectively do not belong to any particular period and the traditions they embody can be traced back to the times of Lord Mahavira and to the Council of Pataliputra, while the commentarial literature on them coming much later, belongs to a period when many of the traditions had become forgotten. He says that much of the material which is embodied in the canons should point to a civilization earlier than the 6th century A.D. when the final redaction of the texts was effected. He has attempted to arrange in a thin superficial and descriptive layer the mountainous data on social and administrative life supplied by the Canons and supplemented them with material gleaned from other sources.

The general picture is thus of a vast canvas; and the details being so spread out in point of time, the resultant impression is that the survey and conclusions cannot be pinned down to a definite epoch. In the section dealing with administrative organization, we have, besides an account of the king, his court and household, data as to the ruler's sister's son succeeding to the throne in the absence of a son, and, in a rare instance, of a daughter succeeding. In the administration of justice, one regrettable feature is the occurrence of too many instances of corruption and oppression. The ethics of war were well-known, and strategy and diplomacy played their own part. There are frequent references to village sabhas; but as a good proportion of the villages probably contained a heterogeneous population, information regarding their internal administration is not abundant. Slavery was quite a common feature of life throughout all the epochs. Voluntary manumission was practised; and the lot of hired labour was not so good as that

of slaves. Guild organization was fairly widespread, and one comes across numerous craft-guilds, merchant-leagues, *sattavahas* and *setthis*. Money-lending was regarded as an honest calling, usury was common and insolvents were freed from liability under conditions. But there was a great deal of suffering of the poor who were driven to slavery for non-payment of their debts. Brahmans were normally held in respect and esteem; and the texts frequently display a ridicule of the caste-system. Violent robbery was a frequent phenomenon: and punishments were of various kinds, including torture and mutilation. There was no immunity from the arbitrary punishments which the king could inflict, and we read that Chanakya, being suspected by the king had to retire to the jungle to starve himself to death.

Maritime transport was well-developed and there are frequent references to passports, fixation of prices and customs dues. A practical view prevailed on the question of flesh-eating, which was permitted under conditions. The primary position in society was assigned to the Khatiyas, and the Brahmans were sometimes referred to as *Dijjai*, i.e., the condemned caste. Cousin-marriage was in vogue and several kinds of un-orthodox marriages are enumerated. Polygamy was a fashion among the rich, and there is a solitary example of polyandry, probably, a remnant of the epic age, mentioned in the canons. Female ascetics had to live under hard conditions and rigorous discipline. Teachers of piety and morality abounded and travelling schools of monks functioned.

According to the *Nisitha Cūrṇi*, "Ardhamagadhi" was the language of half of Magadha or it comprised the 18 kinds of Desi Bhasa. *Jyotisa*, *Ayurveda*, archery, music and dancing were all well-developed. Similarly the arts of fortification, domestic architecture, sculpture and painting were well-advanced. Mention is made of Devakulas, Thubhas, Ceyas, and Layanās. Monasticism was a most marked feature of general life. The samanasangha was a unique organization with a severe code of discipline; and the institution of hermits or *Tavasvas* was very old. The Sakya Samanas are frequently referred to as the worst opponents of the Nigānṭhas. The Ajivikas were an important sect and Mahavira is said to have been appreciably influenced by Gōsala's doctrines. There were four heretical creeds active in the time of Mahavira besides other sects. Other noticeable religious cults, popular deities, superstitions and practices have also been detailed. We learn that elaborate rules had been early developed for disposing of the bodies of Jain Sadhus. Cosmography was an important field of

Jain learning, and the orthodox Jain conception of the world was that of innumerable spheres, continents and oceans. A chapter is devoted to an account of Mahavira's itinerary and another gives a descriptive list of the chief items of geographical material contained in the canons and commentaries. The several kings and rulers mentioned in them have been arranged alphabetically, as any chronological order is impossible to fix except in a few cases. The caution has been rightly given that many of these kings showed equal regard to teachers of other religions. General conclusions on data so complex and widespread, cannot be easily arrived at or accepted; but the data themselves can be individually evaluated; and the wealth of material collected and arranged is striking and very useful to the careful student.

C. S. S.

FOUNDATIONS IN THE DUST—A Story of Mesopotamian Exploration. By Seton Lloyd, F.S.A. Geoffrey Cumberlege, O.U.P., 1947—Pages xii and 237, Illustrations and a map.

Sir Leonard Woolley has remarked that the author has rightly redrawn the story of the early excavators in Mesopotamia and has been fair towards workers of other nationalities, while stressing the part that British explorers have played. Iraq has, since the attainment of independence, taken upon its own shoulders the mantle of these foreign excavators and the latest discoveries about the early history of Sumer are to be attributed wholly to indigenous archaeologists.

Mr. Seton Lloyd dates the beginning of Mesopotamian archaeological exploration with the establishment by the East India Company of a Residency at Basrah and with the achievement of Claudius Rich (*d.* 1821) a son-in-law of the influential Sir James Mackintosh, at that time Recorder of Bombay. There had been, indeed, notices of the ruins by earlier travellers; Rich contrived to carry out a more intelligent and thorough examination of the ruins of Babylon, than any that had been made. It is claimed here that it was the publication of Rich's *memoir* in 1812 which gave the initial impulse to Mesopotamian Archaeology. James Silk Buckingham, also of Indian connections, now put a cross-thread in the tapestry of Mesopotamian Exploration. Buckingham's description of his travels was published by Messrs. Longmans & Co., in spite of some challenge and produced, in its sequel, an attempt on the part of the

Indian Government to deport him and a protracted law suit for slander. Rich's record of archaeological work was cut short by his sudden death from cholera at Shiraz in 1821. But when his collection of antiquities reached the British Museum in 1825, attention was focussed on his copies of trilingual inscriptions in the vicinity of Persepolis; and the fruit was the decipherment of cuneiform, on which task, the German scholar, Grotefend, had successfully proceeded to some extent years before. H. C. Rawlinson, who accompanied a Military Mission from British India to Persia in 1833, made certain discoveries in his examination of the Behistun Rock inscriptions and found his first clue to the decipherment of the Persian version. By the end of 1837, Rawlinson has made good his claim to be the Father of Cuneiform. Before Rawlinson arrived in Baghdad, archaeological exploration had turned a crucial point and public institutions had been persuaded to take part in the work of exploration; and from now on superficial exploration was replaced by real excavation.

A. H. Layard had an interesting career in the field, as revealed in his *Autobiography* and *Letters*, while Paul Botta, the French Consular Agent, by means of his examination of the Chambers and their contents in the Palace Mound at Khorsabad, revealed to Europe, in the most realistic manner, the life and history of the Assyrians. Layard's great book—*Nineveh and its Remains*, published in 1849—was supplemented by his work at Nimrud; and he convinced the Trustees of the British Museum as to their duty to actively take up the conduct of exploration. Thus began the epoch of subsidized exploration; and soon the dramatic link was perceived between the Assyrian culture and the Old Testament.

In the second half of the nineteenth century there began an unseemly scramble for antiquities; and it is sad to note that for some years all pretence at historical research was abandoned and archaeologists were replaced by commercial speculators, among whom the unscrupulous merchants of Baghdad were prominent. In 1872 interest in Mesopotamia suddenly revived and subsidized excavations once again became popular and, what is more, proved fruitful. American excavators quickly followed, with their own efficiency and method.

Mr. Lloyd defends the explorers of the 19th century against the charge of wantonly looting antiquities by damaging methods: he argues that the Westerner considered the stones of Assyria as a world heritage and preferred to see them installed in a Museum

rather than "rotting in a mound where a chance rain-storm might leave them at the mercy of Arab gypsum-burners." He also holds that the argument would embrace the whole field of colonial exploitation, and his remarks in this connection, are worth quoting: ('One would hardly have expected Layard to abandon his work at Nimrud on the assumption that some future generation of archaeologists would be better equipped; nor would one have wished Botta to entrust the Khorsabad sculptures to the Pasha of Mosul in trust for an Iraq Nation of the future'.)

From the beginning of the present century excavation ethics and methods altered. A conscience began to develop and interest extended beyond the limits of the ruins and monuments of the pre-Islamic ages and cultures. Further, the Arab *Risorgimento* developed; and all these resulted in the exact definition and regularization of the conduct of archaeological excavations. By 1932 when the British Mandate for Iraq ended, there were eleven expeditions of five different nationalities working in the country, while the Iraqi Department of Antiquities had become regularised. The most prominent and outstanding achievement in recent years has been the discovery by Woolley of the Royal Cemetery at Ur. Like the typical Englishman that he is, Lloyd glories in the more than century-old connections of Great Britain with Iraq in the realm of culture which has secured the reorganization of Mesopotamian Research into a new freedom and in new channels through the work of Gertrude Bell.

C. S. S.

THE BRITISH IN THE MALAY INDIES—An Historical Study of Fundamental Phases by Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Lucknow University—Published by Maxwell Company, Lucknow—Pages vi, ii, and 174.

Dr. Das Gupta has here presented a critical study a little-known field in the history of British Expansion in the East. He traces the building up of British influence and hold over the Malay Indies, mainly on the basis of the efforts of private enterprise backed up by Government, from the time of the Moncton Embassy to Queda in 1772 to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. Madras played a creditable and prominent part in the history of the British doings in the Archipelago, during these five decades. Moncton was sent by the Madras Presidency, and though he failed, the hold that was acquired over Penang, inspite of Lord Cornwallis's diffidence as to its value,

and its development under Captain Light, may be deemed to be the ultimate fruit of that effort. Rightly has it been remarked by our author that the occupation of Penang was a challenge to the Dutch monopolistic claims over the Archipelago. The clear notice of the growth of Penang and the analysis of the causes of the differences between Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, and Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, over the source of the initiative for the new policy of conquering and incorporating all the Dutch Settlements in the East are very striking. Lord Hobart's spirited and expeditious preparations for the expedition to the Spice Islands (*vide* his letter to Shore, Nov. 6, 1795), are clearly detailed, as also his psychological deficiency, which produced an unavoidable collision with the Governor-General and ruined his Indian career.

Chapter IV narrates Lord Minto's expedition to Java, the feverish preparations at defence of Marshall Daendels, the pro-Bonaparte Governor of that Island and the vigorous and beneficial Governorship of Raffles, the Founder of Singapore. It may be noted that Gillespie, the hero of the fight before Fort Cornelis, was a Madras Officer who had already made a mark for himself. The well-known Madras Engineer and Record-Collector, Col. Colin Mackenzie, accompanied the expedition, while John Leyden, scholar and poet, was also on the scene. The acquisition of Banca was the next British achievement and the island was rechristened the Duke of the Yord Island.

The narrative is scholarly and sober, being well documented; and from it we learn, among other things, why the British Foreign Minister, Canning, resolved to retain Singapore which controls one of the two passage-ways to the China Sea. The greatness of the Indian Empire has made students of British Colonial expansion in the East neglect the comparatively less-known field of their efforts in the Archipelago, and it is welcome that Dr. Das Gupta should have brought out neat and authoritative account of one field of British Enterprise in Indonesia.

THE DUTCH IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, 1740-1825 A.D. By,
Dr. Kalikinar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., of the Patna College, Patna—
pages 273—published by the University of Patna, 1948.

Dr. Datta has made the History of Bengal in the 18th century his special field of study, and the fortunes of the Dutch in Bengal and Bihar during the 18th and early 19th centuries form the theme

of this new book of his. With a preliminary outline of the history of the early Dutch Settlements and of the Council of Chinsura, the treatment takes us on to the critical months of 1756-57. The Indian and non-Indian factors that influenced the relations of the European Powers among themselves and with the Indian Powers are clearly brought out. Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula played fast and loose with the Dutch, who acted on the whole with great caution and prudence in their dealings with the Nawab on the one side and with the English on the other side during the critical months before Plassey. Dr. Datta points out that the action of the Dutch in rendering assistance to the English fugitives at Fulta was not, in strict theory, consistent with the laws of neutrality; but it is perhaps stressing the validity of the principles of European Laws of Neutrality a little too far in matters affecting the relationship of the European Powers towards one another at a time of crisis and common danger for them in a non-Christian and Asiatic State. We learn how the Dutch offered to mediate between the English and the Nawab and found themselves in a delicate position during the English siege and capture of Chandernagore. A chapter is devoted to the details of the circumstances leading to the battle of Biderra (Badara) whose reaction on the prosperity of both Batavia and Holland is well brought out. Then the narrative passes on to the post-Bedara period and notices the nature of the convention entered into by the Dutch in August 1760 and the diverse anxieties caused by the scarcity of the *Tantis* (weavers) for the European Companies.

Dr. Datta rightly lays stress on the extent of the responsibility of the European Companies in bringing about the economic decline in the country, as well as the hardships and disadvantages which confronted the French and the Dutch in Bengal after the departure of Clive and which persisted on into the days of Warren Hastings. The main causes of dispute were over the fees to be paid to the officers of the Indian Government and the quantity of salt-petre to be supplied to the Dutch.

In the critical years of 1780-81 when the English fortunes swung dangerously low, interest shifts on to South India, and the English were now in need of active help from the Dutch and requested the Nawab of the Carnatic to negotiate a treaty with the Dutch Governor of Colombo for the services of a body of European infantrymen and artillery-men; but before the treaty could be properly implemented war had broken out between Great Britain and Holland. In this connection the letter of Warren Hastings personally defending his policy with regard to the proposed Anglo-

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Dutch Treaty is instructive. An instance of the meticulous care taken by Dr. Datta in respect even of the most trivial details is sampled in note 298 (page 111) which discusses the exact dates of the capture of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon as soon as war broke out.

Detailed attention is of course paid to the capture of the Dutch possessions in Bengal and Bihar at the time, and to the regulations enforced for the conduct of the Commissaries who were put in charge of the captured places. The fortunes of the Dutch settlements in the Epoch of the Napoleonic Wars, particularly of the Dutch factory at Patna, the Convention of 1814 and the final cession of the Dutch possession to the English in 1824-25 conclude the narrative which is couched in easy, but a little florid language. The appendix matter is useful and that on the use of Cowries as current coins is interesting. A bibliography, supplemented by a glossary of Indian terms and a small, but useful, index, enhance the value of the book for the student. In some places the extracts quoted are unduly lengthy but their relevancy is undoubted.

C. S. S.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals :

1. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XI, Part 4 (Dec. 1947).
A copy of a private grant (in Kanarese) from Nellikere during the reign of Sri Krishna Wadiyar III, dated Saka 1651.
2. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Annals of the—)*, Vol. XXVIII, Parts I-II (1947, pub. 1948).
 - i. *Muslim Historians on Muhammad Shah Bahmany I's War with Vijayanagara*
By Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D.
 - ii. *The year of the Mahabharata War as disclosed by the Bhishma Chronogram muncati gātram (3038 B.C.)*
By P. R. Chidambara Iyer, B.A.
 - iii. *Date and Works of Vāgbhaṭa the Physician*
By Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A. ("9th century, omitting the first and probably also the last quarter of it").
3. *Bihar Research Society (Journal of the—)*, Vol. XXXIII, Parts III and IV (Sept. and Dec. 1947).
 - i. *The Gāṅgēya.....Samvatsara Prarambhah (the initial date of the Ganga Era)*
By G. Ramadas (349 A.D.).
 - ii. *A Mediaeval (with inscription of circa 11th century) Bronze Sculpture of Arapachana (one of the popular varieties of Manjusri) from Nepal*
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Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India During the Fifteenth Century

BY

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The political condition of India during the fifteenth century bears a close resemblance to that of contemporary Italy—the Italy of the Renaissance and later of the Reformation. India like Italy was a congeries of big and small states. Bengal, the Deccan, Gujrāt, Mālwa, and Jaunpūr may be placed in the same category as Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples and Sicily. In India too there existed a number of smaller dynasties which may be bracketted with the Estes of Ferrara, the Gonzagas of Mantua, the Bentivoglis of Bologna and the Paglionis of Perugia. The comparison may be pursued further. The rulers of these minor dynasties were as good patrons of literature and art as were rulers representing bigger territories, as in the case of Italy. Nor did they exert a small influence in the power-politics of Northern India as in Italy. The friendship and co-operation of the rulers of such minor dynasties, were considered great assets in maintaining the balance of power between bigger states or creating a friendly buffer between states contending for mastery. These minor dynasties, however, have not attracted the attention of historians and have been incidentally referred to in our source books. They have been, in fact, over-shadowed by major provincial dynasties. It will be the aim of this paper to trace the history of three such minor dynasties,—the Auḥadi, Auḥad Khānī or Jilwānī of Biāna (Bayāna) and Agra, the Dandānīs of Nagaur, and the Qādir Khānī or Qādir Shāhī Dynasty of Kālpī. I am sure the topic will be of immense interest and will yield a mine of new information, if assiduously pursued.

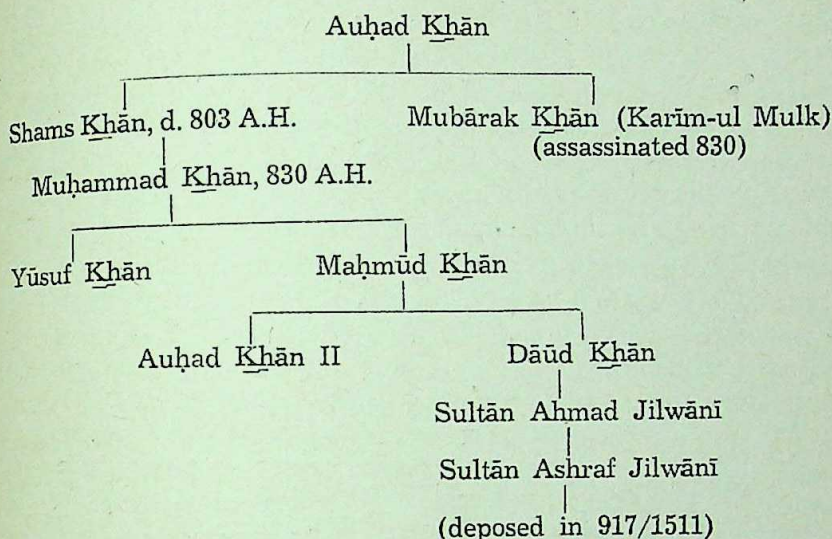
The importance of these dynasties and their inter-action on the politics of the empire, cannot be properly appreciated, until we bear in mind the political picture of Northern India during the 15th century. Bengal and the Deccan had slipped off from the control of Delhi during the reign of Maḥmūd Tughlaq. The centrifugal ten-

dencies were too strong to be controlled by his weak successors. The disintegration of the Delhi Empire could not be arrested by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, after whose reign the structure came to a complete chaos, mainly due to a series of civil wars when the throne of Delhi was contested by rival claimants at the same time. During Maḥmūd Tughlaq's reign (accession 1394 A.D.), till right upto Timūr's invasion of India there were two emperors ruling over different areas of Delhi,—Naṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Tughlaq, grandson of Firūz Shāh, ruling from Delhi and Nuṣrat Shāh, son of Faṭḥ Khān, son of Firūz, maintaining a court at Firūzabād, at a distance of about 5 miles from each other. The nobles had ranged themselves with either of the claimants and provincial governors professed their loyalty to either of the two or to none at all, as it suited their selfish interest. In the beginning of Maḥmūd Tughlaq's accession, the fiefs of Kanauj, Awadh, Karra, Sandila (Hardoi District, U.P.), Dalmāu (Rae Bareilly Distt., U.P.), Bahraich and Jaunpūr were placed in charge of Khwāja-i Jahān Malik-ush-Sharq, who declared his independence soon after Timur's invasion, and Mālwa fell off in 1401 A.D. Gujrāt and Multān did so almost at the same time. On the eve of Timur's Indian invasion Bayāna¹ was held by Auḥad Khān described as Aḥadān in the Zafar Nāmah. Timūr described him as a "Musalmān and an honest man", who might have appealed to Timūr for giving asylum to Khidr Khān who claimed to be a Syad. After Timūr's departure, Mahoba² and Kālpī were usurped by Maḥmūd Khān, son of Malik Zādah Firūz, Samana (Patiala State), by Ghalib Khan, and Biana by Shams Khān Auḥadī.³ Miwāt had become virtually independent under the Khānzādas, Gwālīor was seized by the Tonwārs, and the Khokhars, a tribe of converted Rajputs and Jats, held the Central Punjab in fee. Gujrāt became independent under Tātar Khān, and the Rajputs defied the central government in Rohil-Khand and the Jumna-Ganges Do-ab.

Here we are concerned with the history of only three dynasties. Starting from the history of the Auḥadīs of Bayāna, I first of all sketch the genealogical table of the Dynasty as far as could be ascertained from historical sources.

1. 26°55 N. Lat. and 77°8 E. Long, in Bhartpur state.
2. 26°8 N. and 79°45 E. in Hamirpūr Distt., U.P., on the road from Cawnpore to Sagaur.
3. Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī, Yahayā bin Aḥmad, 169; Maasir-i Rahīmī, 'Abdul Bāqī, I 396.

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The Auḥadīs and Jilwānīs of Bayāna

I

After Timūr's departure, Mallū Iqbāl Khān, the Wazīr of Mahmūd Tughlaq, the Sultān who had sought asylum in Gujrat, occupied Delhi and the Do-āb. In course of his campaigns to regain lost territories, Mallū Iqbāl Khān defeated Shams Khān son of Auḥad Khān in the vicinity of Noh-Jhil^{3a} and captured Biāni in 802. Shams Khān renewed his vassalage to Delhi and offered two of his elephants to Mallū Khān,⁴ in 802/1399. Next year (803/1400), Shams Khān joined his forces with Mallū Khān in conducting a campaign against Rāi Subir Singh, the Patiāli chief, on the banks of the Kālī Nadī. The campaign resulted in victory to Mallū. The Rājputs were chased upto Etāwa and Kanauj, the latter then forming a part of the Sharqi kingdom. After the rival armies had stood face to face in Kanauj for two months on the opposite banks of the Ganges, none daring to cross it, Mallū decided to turn back, perhaps at the approach of the rains. On the way, Mallū Khān suspecting his general's fidelity, treacherously killed Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān, son of Bahādur Nāhir Khān.⁵

3a. Nohjhil, a small town in Muttra Distt., 30 miles north of Muttra town. Fuhrer Arch Surv. Rep.; N. S. Vol. II, 109.

4. Tarikh-i Mubārak Shāhī, 169.

5. Badāūni, Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh I, 272. Yahya in his Tār Mub Shāhī, p. 170 and 180 confuses between Karīm-ul Mulk and Shams Khān and his names are contradictory.

Karim-ul-Mulk. Shams Khān Auhādī was succeeded on the Gadi of Biāna by his brother Mubārak Khān, entitled *Karīm-ul-Mulk*,⁶ most likely, after Shams Khān's treacherous murder. *Karīm-ul-Mulk* compromised his position with Mallū Iqbāl, but breathed an air of independence after Mallū Khān's death in the battle of Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan, in Montgomery District, the Punjab), in 808/1405. It was not till 819/1416, that he submitted to the newly founded Syad dynasty of Delhi Kings, but not till Khizr Khān had personally led an expedition towards Biāna.⁷ In that year Khizr Khān was returning to Delhi from a campaign at Nagaur (Jodhpur State, Rājputana) against Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt, via Gwālīor and Biāna. *Karīm-ul-Mulk*, the Biāna chief, submitted by paying the customary tribute.

The reigns of Khizr Khān and his son and successor Mubārak Shah were much disturbed by revolts and insurrections of the Do-āb and Kather Rājputs, of the chief of Mīwāt, by the raids of the Khokhars upto the vicinity of Delhi, and above all the rest, by Mughal invasions, the last being the most menacing of all. In 824/1421, *Karīm-ul-Mulk* was treacherously killed by his nephew Muḥammad Khān, who began his career by rebelling against Delhi. It was in 830/1426, that Mubārak Shāh found an opportunity to turn to Biāna so that Muḥammad Khān was forced to submit to Mubārak Shāh. It is related that Muḥammad Khān stood the siege for 16 days, secure in the fastness of the fort, but sued for peace when supplies were cut off, by tying his turban⁸ round his neck and surrendering all his horses, arms, drums, and paraphernalias of sovereignty. He and his family members were brought to Delhi and imprisoned in the Jahānuma Palace of Fīrūz Shāh, and Biāna was split up into two fiefs. Biāna proper and Sīkrī were awarded to Malik Muqbil Khān and Malik Khairuddin Tuhfa respectively.⁹ Next year¹⁰ Muḥammad Khān Auhādī fled from his prison at Delhi and found refuge with his kinsmen in Mīwāt.¹¹ After collecting an army, he attacked Malik Muqbil at Biāna and hurled him back to Delhi, with the result that the Sultān (Mubārak Shāh) became displeased with his general's cowardice, and replaced him by Malik Mubārīz. The latter invested Biāna and

6. Ferishta.

7. Badāūni I, 286.

8. Acc. to Nizāmuddīn, Tab. I, 276, a turban, acc. to Ferishta a rope.

9. Tar Mub Shāhi 206; Ferishta I, Newalkishore, 165.

10. 831/427 Badāūni I, 292.

11. Mub Shāhi, p. 206.

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cut off Muḥammad Khān's supplies. Muḥammad Khān fled from the back-door of the fort and sought refuge, this time, with Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr. The latter intent on using him as a tool to further his own ends, marched on Delhi at the head of a huge army, the van-guard of which was commanded by his brother, Malik Mukhlīṣ Khān, consisting of 10 thousand cavalry. After remaining encamped near Marhara (Etah Distt., U.P.) for three weeks, the Sharqī forces surreptitiously withdrew towards Biāna by forced marches, captured it and installed Muḥammad Khān as a Sharqī vassal. The outwitted Delhi forces followed the Sharqīs, and engaged them in battle on the banks of the Gāmbhir river, near Biāna. After a sanguinary battle lasting throughout the day of Jamādi 7, 831/Feb. 23, 1428, the Sharqī forces, unable to sustain casualties any longer, withdrew towards Jaunpūr at night-fall. The Delhi forces fell back after giving chase for a short while, unable to contact the enemy. Biāna was next invested and Muḥammad Khān surrendered after holding out for a week, Biāna was confiscated and placed in charge of Malik Md. Hasan. Maḥmūd Khān according to Ferishta was given the option to go wherever he pleased.¹² Muḥammad Khān retired to Miwāt and Malik Maḥmūd after pacifying Biāna returned to Delhi in 832/1428. Sultān Mubārak Shāh conferred on him the title of 'Imādul Mulk for this service.¹³ But Mubārak Shāh, clement as he was by nature, forgave Muḥammad Khān's offences and restored him to his fief once again.¹⁴

Biāna comes into lime-light in 837/1433, next. In that year Sultān Mubārak Shāh, was assassinated by his Wazir, the arch-conspirator Sarwar-ul-Mulk who intended to put the crown of Delhi on his own head. He transferred the fiefs of Biāna, Amrohā and Narnaul (now in Patiala State but formerly forming a part of Miwāt), and Kuhrām (in Patiala State), together with some parganas of the Doāb to Sidhpāl and Sidhāran Khattrī, the assassins of Mubārak Shāh. When Rānoo, the Abyssinian slave of Sidhpāl, was deputed to occupy Biāna, Yusuf Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Auhādī, anticipating an attack, fell on the intruders, by crossing the Hindān,¹⁵ defeated the army brought by the new assignee and dispersed it, killing the pretender together

12. Ferishta, Newal-kishore, I, 166.

13. Ferishta, Newal-kishore I, 166.

14. Badaūni Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh,

15. Ferishta Newal-kishore, I, 169.

with a large number of his retainers.¹⁶ This base conduct of Sarwar-ul-Mulk which amounted to his selling himself to the Sultān's assassins brought a violent reaction against him culminating in his murder by Kamāl-ul-Mulk, the avenger general. The latter re-installed Muḥammad Shāh, nephew of the murdered Sultān on the throne of Delhi, after freeing him from Sarwar-ul-Mulk's tutelage. That very year, 837/1433, when things settled down to more or less peaceful conditions, Muḥammad Shāh led the only expedition of his reign, by marching on Multān with a huge army, to free the land from the depredations of the Langāhs, a race of Rājput converts. Yūsuf Khān Auḥadī was one of the generals who, accompanied the Sultān on this occasion, an expedition begun with great ceremony but barren of any result. By the next year revolts and insurrections had started all over the country. Things grew worse under 'Alauddīn 'Alam Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh's son and successor.

It is quite probable, that under such circumstances, the Biāna chief should defy the control of Delhi. An expedition to Biāna contemplated by the Sultān could not materialize due to the news of an impending Sharqī invasion of the Delhi territories. According to Nizāmuddīn's chronology, Biāna was lost to Delhi, in 850/1466. That year, Maḥmūd Shāh Khilji, king of Mālwa turned towards Biāna, after conducting an expedition to Mandalgāh and Rantambhor, the former being held by Rāna Kumbh of Mewār. When Maḥmūd Khilji was about two farsangs from Biāna, Maḥmūd Khān, its chief, brother of Yusuf Khān Auḥadī, sent his son Auḥād Khān¹⁷ with cash, presents and horses in token of his submission. Maḥmūd Shāh Khilji sent for him a gold crown, bedecked with precious stones, and Arab horses with golden reins, and robe of honour. "Maḥmūd Khān praised the generosity of the Sultān of Mālwa and read the Khutba and issued the sikka in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh"¹⁸ Maḥmūd Khilji after creating thus a buffer between his territories and those of the Delhi Sultanate and Mewār, turned back, to send reinforcements for the siege of Chitōr. Thus Biāna passed under the sphere of Malwan influence, and its chief was henceforward a crowned head, and seems to have assumed the Dynastic title of Jilwāni in preference to that of the Auḥadī,

16. Ferishta, Newal-kishore, I, 169.

17. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, III, 330; Maasir-i Rahimi, 'Abdul Bāqi Nehāwandi, I, 134.

18. Tab. Akb. III, 330.

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coined after the name of the founder. Maḥmūd Khān seems to have ruled Biāna after his investiture for a short while, for we learn from the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, which is practically repeated in other histories, that Dāūd Khān held the chieftainship of Biāna in independent sway, when 'Alauddīn 'Alam Shāh still held Delhi and Bahlul Lōdī had not yet usurped the metropolis. In 858/1454, Maḥmūd Shāh Khilji turned towards Biāna via Hadauti. Dāūd Khān gave presents and behaved submissively.

Dāūd Khān was succeeded by, it appears, his son, Aḥmad Khān Jilwāni described by Nizamuddīn as Sultān Aḥmad. It is not known when he succeeded his father. Sultān Aḥmad submitted to Husain Shāh when the latter marched at the head of a strong army in 871/1466, or thereabouts and had forced the Raja of Gwalior to read the *Khutba* in his name.¹⁹ This Sharqi dominion over Biāna did not last for a long time, and seems to have ended, as soon as the Sharqi army had turned its back and Bahlul Lōdī, the founder of the Lōdī Dynasty of the Sultāns of Delhi, recovered Biāna and Miwāt at the same time.²⁰ Two years later, Bahlul Lōdī, realising that he was losing the contest against his powerful rival Husain Shāh of Jaunpūr, and fearing an ejection from Delhi, sent a mission to Maḥmūd Shāh Khilji, king of Mālwa, headed by Shaikh Muḥammad Faramlī, and Kapurchand, son of the Raja of Gwalior. The mission waited on the king near Fathābād with presents and horses, soliciting the aid of Maḥmūd Shāh against Husain Shāh²¹ and offering him the cession of Biāna which was formerly a Mālwa dependency. Maḥmūd Shāh, who seems to have given assurances of his friendship, fulfilled the latter condition without performing the former one. Consequently, Maḥmūd Shāh's conduct was resented by Bahlul Lōdī. Bahlul found his opportunity to retaliate, when the pleasure-seeking Ghiasuddīn succeeded his father Maḥmūd Shāh, in 873/1468. He occupied Biāna and even encroached upon Mālwa territories by plundering Alhānpūr. Bahlul was defeated by Shēr Khān, the governor of Chanderi who had accompanied the Sarangpūr and Bhilsa forces, and chased upto the vicinity of Delhi.²²

19. Badāunī, I, 308.

20. Cannot be traced; does not appear to be the Fathābād at the southern tip of Agra Distt.

21. Tab. Akb. III, 348.

22. *Tobāqat Akb. III, 348. Maasir-i Rahimī I, 148.*

Thereafter we lose contact with the history of Biāna till early in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī. Biāna appears to have overthrown the allegiance of Mālwa when Medini Rāi the Chanderi chief usurped power in Mālwa. The story of the termination of Auḥad Khāni dynasty is narrated by Nizāmuddīn.²³ In 894/1488, Sultān Sikandar marched upon Gwālīor and received the submission of Mānsingh Tonwār, its Rāja (1486-1517). He then proceeded towards Biāna, then held by Sultān Ashraf, son of Sultān Aḥmad Jilwāni. Sultān Ashraf at first refused to hand over Biāna and take in its place Jalēsar (Etah District, U.P.), Chandwār (near Firūzabād, Agra district), Sakīt and Mārharā (both in Etah District, U.P.). Later, having agreed to do so, he shut himself in the fort. The Sultān, leaving the siege to be conducted by his generals, himself proceeded towards Agra to free it from Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a kinsman of Sultān Ashraf. Having accomplished his object, the Sultān Sikandar turned towards Biāna, whereupon, Sultān Ashraf submitted being reduced to great straits. Thus Biāna, was conquered in 894/1488 and Sultān Ashraf fled to Gwālīor. Biāna was placed in charge of Khān Khānān Faramlī. The latter having died in 902/1491, Biāna was placed in charge of his son, 'Imād Sultān.²⁴

Biāna, Cultural and Artistic. An account of Biāna given by 'Abul Fazl²⁵, is immensely interesting, coming as it does about a hundred years after the extinction of Biāna as an independent political unit. "Biāna, in former times", Abul Fazl writes, "was a large city. It possesses a fort, containing many buildings, and cellars and people therein still find weapons of war and copper utensils. There is also a lofty tower. Fine mangoes grow here, some of them more than two pounds in weight. Sugar of extreme whiteness is also manufactured. Here too is a well, with the water of which mixed with white sugar they make cakes weighing two pounds more or less, which they call kandaura (with no other water till they solidify) and these are taken to the most distant parts as rarity. Indigo of the finest quality is here to be obtained, selling at 10/12 rupees per man weight. Excellent henna is also found and here are tombs of many eminent personages." Biāna remained a centre of indigo industry even in the 17th century.²⁶

23. *Tabaqāt Akb*, I, 316.

24. *Badāūni, Muntakhab*, I, 318.

25. *Āin-i Akb*, II, Jarrett, 181.

26. Vide p. 28 of Moreland's *Jahāngīr's India* (Remonstratic of Francisco Polesart).

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To the account of Abul Faẓl, it may be said by way of addition, that both Bābar and Jahāngir in their memoirs have spoken highly of the strength and impregnability of the fort of Biāna which stands on a high cliff, and covers a perimeter of about six miles. In fact, it ranks with the great forts of medieval India, Rantambhor, Chitor, Gwālior or Gāwilgarh. In the whole course of its fifteenth century history, there is not a single instance of its being taken by storm. It defied the invaders but surrendered only when supplies were cut off. Biāna, or Banāsūr lies on the left bank of the Gāmbhir river (26·55 N. Lat. and 77·8 E. Long.) in Bharatpūr State, about 50 miles as the crow flies or 65 miles by road to the WSW from Agra. It is situated at the foot of a SE salient of massive and precipitous range of granite hills, the upper surface of which forms, with a few exception, a sort of undulating plateau. Here and there it is intersected by a few short chasm-like gorges, but the sides of this high table-land are everywhere precipitous and in many places absolutely perpendicular, and the cliff-like precipices are almost everywhere inaccessible, except a few points.²⁷ The fort of Biāna called Vijaimandargarh (old name Sāntipūr),²⁸ is situated on a precipitous spur at the western extremity of the same range, and about 6 miles to the west of the city of Biāna.

A Minār in an unfinished stage and with a defaced inscription stands near the Ukha temple which was used as a mosque. It is popularly associated with the name of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī, who might have erected it to commemorate the victory he gained against Rāna Sānka at the battle of the Gāmbhira fought near Biāna in 1519 A.D. Tod (Aḥmad Yādgar, too in his Tārīh-khi Shāhī), informs us that the Rānā fled from the battle field after the defeat of his army, covered with many wounds.^{28a} Its present height is 39' 6" with a base circumference of 84' 7" and a diameter of 28' 2" at the base.

The following monuments of archaeological and historical interest were noticed by a party of advanced history students of the Aligarh University, in and around Biāna during a visit to the spot in February 1947.

1. A magnificent gate at the entrance of the old city, constructed by Islām Shāh Sūr, dated 1550 A.D., a fine specimen of the later Afghan style of architecture.

27. Carlleyle, Arch. Survey of India Rep. Vol. vi, p. 40.

28. Do. Do. 54.

28a. Tod Annals of Rajasthan I, 349. Yadgar Tar Shahi Buhar Ms, 52.

2. A Khānqah of Maulāna Sa'dullah, the Wazir of Shāh Jahān, with an inscription.

3. A four-pillard Chhatttri, constructed by Akbar as a memorial, in 1010/1601, after the conquest of the Deccan, Khāndesh and Dāndesh.

4. Tomb of Bahāuddīn Shirāzī.

5. Mosque of Bairam Khān Khanān.

6. A Jhājhri of Mir Ma'sūm, court poet of Akbar.

Sultān Sikandar Lōdi constructed a new city named Sikandra, situated on the plateau immediately below and to the south of the fort. Carlleyle noticed a ruined wall running due southwards from the fort into the open plain for 1,915 ft. until it met the ancient ruined gate-way of Sikandra.²⁹

Vijai-Mandargarh is 2,140 ft. in length from east to west and 600/700 ft. from north to south. It is divided from another larger fortified enclosure which lies to the east of the former and is connected with it by a causeway erected over a gorge. It links with the fortified area through a narrow entrance gate.

Within the fort there is a tapering 'lāt' or Monolith pillar of Vishnu Vardhana, son of Yasovardhana, rising from a high stone platform, 26 ft. 3 inches above the surface. About 35/36 ft. to the NNW from the Lat there are the remains of an old temple with 18 plain pillars, formerly used as a mosque. (64-6, 33 ft.). In the enclosure, (80, 56 ft.) in front of this temple, at a distance of about sixteen feet, stands a beautiful minār, a massive structure and a fine specimen of Indo-Muslim architecture. It was constructed by Dāūd Khān, son of Mahmūd Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān, the independent chief of Bīānā. Carlleyle^{29a}, gives a small photo sketch of the gate of this minar over which stand inscriptions. According to his interpretation the minar was built by Dāūd Khān during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the third ruler of the Syad dynasty, in 861 H. I tried my level best to read the illustration by Carlleyle, but did not succeed as the inking of the inscription had been done rather un-skillfully. I took an enlarged photo but even then the letters could not be deciphered. Dāūd Khān was Bahlul Lōdī's contemporary, Yusuf Khān and Mahmūd Khān were the contemporaries of Muḥammad Shāh. The date (861) corresponds to the sixth year of Bahlul's reign, and Muḥammad Shāh having died in

29. Carlleyle Arch. Sur. Rep. VI, 56, 73.

29a. At the end of Vol. VI.

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849 H, his name should not have been included in this structure. Though as a rule epigraphic evidence should have precedence over recorded histories, I must say that Carlleyle's reading of the inscriptions, is subject to improvement perhaps correction. The banded part of the Minar consists of white, yellow, and red marbles. At present it is a two-storeyed structure rising upto a height of 74 ft. with a base circumference of 75 ft. 2 inches.

A few lines more regarding the origin of the Auḥad Khāni or Jilwānī Dynasty. Historians of Delhi have not spoken a word on this topic. But the circumstantial evidence which we can collect from their cursory narration of the facts, leads us to suppose that the Auḥadīs were converts from Jādon Rājputs and belonged to the same race as the Khanzādas of Mīwāt. The cradle of this race is stated to have been the fort of Thāngarḥ in Karauli State. The most prominent of the original converts were the two brothers Sānpar Pāl and Sheopar Pāl, who having been converted by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq took the Muslim names of Bahādur Nāhir Khān and Chhajjū Khān. Though this is not supported by any contemporary history, its veracity is admitted by writers of local histories, and Gazetteers.³⁰ Yahya in his Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi has narrated (and I suppose from him other historians including Nizāmuddīn have borrowed) that Muḥammad Khān, son of Shams Khān, being defeated by Sultān Mubārak Shāh, was brought to Delhi as a prisoner in 831/1427, wherefrom he fled to Mīwāt, where he found a warm welcome from "his kinsmen", with whose aid he re-conquered Biāna. This is the only written evidence from the court historians of Delhi that we come across regarding the origin of the Auḥadīs and Jilwānīs. Next year when he was again ejected by Mubārak Shāh and given the option to go wherever he liked, he preferred to go to Mīwāt, among his kinsmen.³¹

II

THE DANDANIS OF NAGOUR

Known as the birth-place of Abul Fazl and Faizi to students of Northern Indian history, Nagaur³² in Mārṣār, historically known as Nāgagadh or Nagadūrḡa, is situated at a distance of 1½ miles

30. Vide Powlett, Alwar State Gazetteer.

31. Page 206.

32. 27°12'N and 73°44'E, in Jodhpūr State, Rajputāna.

from the railway station of the same name on the Jodhpūr-Bikāner Railway. It is 80 miles to the east of Jodhpūr and 99 miles by rail from it. From the Narāina inscription, deciphered by Maulānā Yazdānī,³³ we come to know of a dynasty, which established a more or less independent status, after Firūz Shāh Tughlaq's death. The names of three governors are mentioned in the inscription, Wajih-ul-Mulk, Shams Khān and Mujāhid Khān.

Zafar Khān Wajih-ul-Mulk's name is mentioned in the inscription, because in the first place, he was the ancestor of the ruling chiefs of Nagaur and the local dynasty of Gujrat kings. Nagaur appears to have been granted by Firūz Shāh (1360-71), as a fief to Wajih-ul-Mulk, who stayed in the Delhi court and did not move to Nagaur. Nagaur, later, became a fief of the kingdom of Gujrat, and was regarded as a place of immense strategic importance by that kingdom. It was conquered, it appears, soon after Firūz Shāh's death, by Rāna Chondā of Mewār (1382-1409)³⁴ but soon after conquered by the Muslims, most probably, in 793/1390, when 'Azam Humāyūn Zafar Khān, son of Wajih-ul Mulk, was appointed governor of Gujrāt. On the way to that country, he received great ovation from the people of Nagaur. This Zafar Khān was imprisoned by his son Tātār Khān, who declared the independence of Gujrāt, and assumed the title of Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh. Zafar Khān, secretly called his brother Shams Khān, who held the office of the Wazīr under Tātār Khān, to release him from custody. The latter poisoned his usurping nephew to death,³⁵ and set his brother on the vacant throne of Gujrāt (806/1403), under the title of Muẓaffar Shāh. Muẓaffar Shāh I, rewarded his brother Shams Khān nick-named Dandānī (the long-teethed one) on account of the protruding character of his two front teeth,³⁶ by conferring on him the fief of NAGAU to the exclusion of Jalal Khān Khokhar, its governor.³⁷

The following genealogical Table will prove the connection of this dynasty, with that of the independent kings of Gujrāt.

33. Archaeological Survey of India Report, 1925-26, p. 150.

34. Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, II, p. 19, 1879 Edition.

34a. Tab. Akb. III 84.

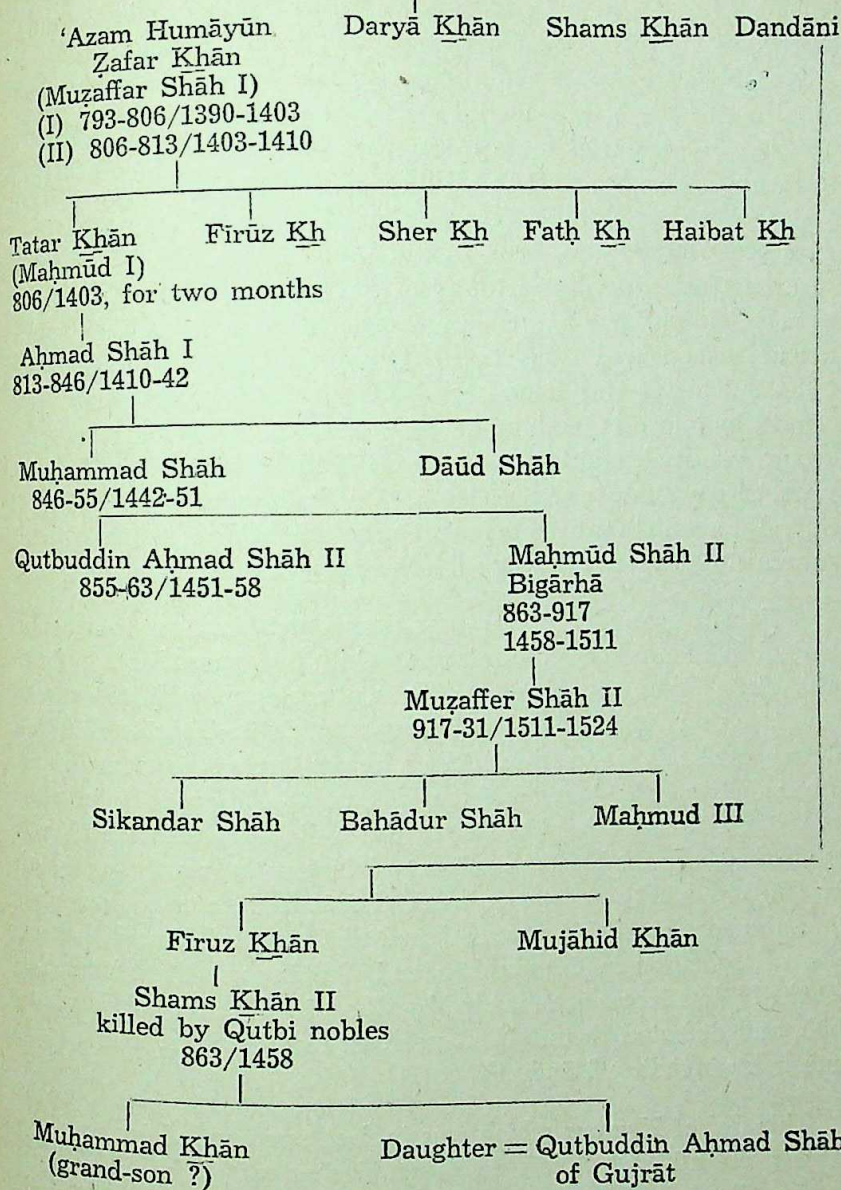
35. Tār Mubārak Shāhī, 172.

36. Bayley, Local Mahomedan Dynasties—Gujrāt, p. 95.

37. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Tabaqātī Akbarī, Vol. III, 92.

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Zafar Khān (Wajih-ul-Mulk)



In 819/1416, Nagaur politics assumed an All-India importance.³⁸ That year, the youthful Sultān Ahmad Shāh (son of Khān, son of Zafar Khān) who had ascended the throne in 814/1411,³⁹ according to the bequest of his grand-father Zafar Khān,

38. Tār. Mub. Shāhi 182.

39. Tab. Akb. III, 92.

led his armies towards Nagaur, then held by Shams Khān Dandāni, his father's assassin. The Nagaur chief had added insult to injury by harbouring Firūz Khān, the Sultān's rebel uncle. The real motive of the Sultān was to avenge the death of his father. Faced with the arms of a resourceful state headed by a youthful ruler, and knowing full well the consequences of a defeat, Shams Khān sought the assistance of Khizr Khān, the first ruler of the so-called Syed Dynasty of Delhi. Khizr Khān whose hold over the territories of Delhi Empire, even in the Do-ab and Rohil-khand, was precarious, seized the opportunity to win for himself such a distant out-post of immense strategic importance whose control would have at least ensured safety to the Delhi territories from the attacks of the Sultāns of Gujrāt and the Rāna of Mewār, and readily responded by himself marching at the head of a strong army towards Nagaur, via Tonk and Tūda (Tuda or Tonk Shoda is 20 miles SW by west from Tonk in Tonk State). On the approach of the Delhi army, Aḥmad Shāh retired to his metropolis, and Khizr Khān retired towards Delhi, after accepting the vassalage of the Dandānīs.

This subjection to Delhi just now described, was not only nominal but temporary in character. Only two years later in 821/1418, Firūz Khān, son of Shams Khān, threatened with an aggressive attack on Nagaur by Sultān Hushang Shāh Ghorī of Mālwa, offered his allegiance to Aḥmad Shāh by sending a swift camel rider who completed the journey from Nagaur to Aḥmadabād in nine days.⁴⁰ Firūz Khān frankly stated in the dispatch that the Mālwa Sultān had offered him the vilāyat of Nahrwāla, as the price of his (Firūz Khān's) assistance, after Gujrāt had been conquered.⁴¹ Upon the receipt of this news, Aḥmad Shāh turned himself hastily to quell rebellion in Nanduhbār and Sultānpur. Thereafter he met the Mālwa forces commanded by Ghaznīn Khān, son of Hushun Shāh, and defeated them. Next year, Aḥmad Shāh even avenged himself by invading Māndu.⁴²

This fief of Nagaur, which was in fact, surrounded by warlike Rajputs on all sides, had frequent clashes with the Rānas of Mewār. During the governor-ship of Firūz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandāni, Nagaur was involved in a clash with Rāna Mukal (son and successor of Rāna Chonda), of Mewār. Nizāmuddīn⁴³

40. Tab. Akb. III, 102, 103.

41. Tab. Akb. III, 103.

42. Tab. Akb. III, 105.

43. Tab. Akb. III, 100.

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does not say who the victor was, nor the definite date at which the fight took place. While mentioning the story of rebellion at the accession of Aḥmad Shāh in 814/1411, he refers to the flight of Fīrūz Khān, the Sultān's rebel uncle and of his having "received martyrdom on the day when Rāna Mukal fought with Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandāni." Muslim historians are silent as to the results of the war: there is no reference to Nagaur till the year 836/1432. It may be conjectured that Nagaur was not occupied by the Rājputs as can be deduced from the complaint of Rāna Kumbha (mentioned later) that the battlements of the Nagaur fort had proved too strong for the effort of his father. In 836/1411, Aḥmad Shāh was free to turn towards Nagaur and punish the Rāna by carrying war in his territories. After laying waste the city of Haripūr, he turned towards Dungārpūr, Koli-wāra and Dailwāra, the latter two belonging to Rāna Mukal of Mewār, repeating the same tactics. He then turned towards the Rāthor country whose chief submitted. Then Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandāni, "who held Nagaur,"⁴⁴ came to see Aḥmad Shāh and offered a few lac of Tankas. Aḥmad Shāh gave back the present offered and stationed a picket of soldiers in places which were the haunts of rebels and returned to Ahmadabād. "The subjection to Gujrāt was very nominal. The chiefs of Nagaur were free to conduct their own campaigns even of an aggressive nature without reference to their suzerain. We gather from the Naraina inscription that in 837/1433, Fīrūz Khān⁴⁵ son of Shams Khān, seized from Rāna Mukal of Mewār, the two important salt-mining centres of Sāmbhar and Dindwānah.

In 855/1451, corresponding to the first year of the reign of Bahlul Lōdī, Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān died and his brother Mujāhid Khān Dandāni occupied Nagaur dispossessing his nephew, Shams Khān II, son of Fīrūz Khān. The latter sought refuge with Rāna Kumbh, son of Rāna Mukal of Mewār.⁴⁶ The Rāna promised him aid on condition of his demolishing three battlements of the Nagaur fort, which had once compelled the Rāna's father to retire from before its walls because of their impregnability.⁴⁷ In accordance with the saying that a dying man catches at a serpent, Shams

44. Tab. Akb. III 123;

45. Yazdāni makes Mujāhid Khān, brother of Fīrūz Khān, the hero of this victory, whereas from the recorded histories like the Tab. Akb., Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān, was alive till 855/1451.

46. Tab. Akb. III, 129.

47. Tab. Akb. III 129.

Khān gave his consent and was installed in Nagaur with the Rāna's aid. The latter, as soon as his goal was achieved, refused to fulfil the conditions without the arbitrament of a war. A short account of the discussion that took place between Shams Khān and his army chiefs, is contained in Nizāmuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*.⁴⁸ One of the chiefs pleading his case against demolition said, "Would to God that Shams Khān had a daughter; he would then have known, how to protect her honour." Upon refusal, Rāna Kumbh laid siege to Nagaur. Shams Khān fled to Aḥmadabād, to seek assistance from his over-lord and relative, Qutbuddīn Aḥmad Shāh II, of Gujrāt (855-63/1451-58). The Sultān honoured Shams Khān by marrying his daughter.⁴⁹

Soon after the marriage festivities, the Sultān deputed Amīn Chand, and Malik Gadaī to chastise the Rāna, and retained Shams Khān at court. A day after the deputation of the forces, news was brought to the effect that the Rāna had devastated the habitations outside Nagaur fort and "had slaughtered many defenders of the fort", an expression which admits of its eventual seizure when read between the lines. The Sultān whose sense of honour was touched to the quick, resolved on carrying the war in the territory of the Rāna. He launched an attack on the fort of Kambhalmīr,⁵⁰ in 860/1455, after capturing the forts of Abū and Sirōhī on the way. After bloody encounters outside and inside Kambhalmīr, the Rāna concluded peace by offering presents and indemnities to the Sultān.⁵¹ The treaty did not make any mention of the disposal of Nagaur, the main bone of contention, most likely because the war had concluded indecisively. That very year, Aḥmed Shāh (II), at the instigation of Maḥmūd Shāh Khilji of Mālwa, who had recently given asylum to Mujāhid Khān Dandāni, one of the victims of Rāna Kumbh's aggression, drew up a partition treaty, with Aḥmad Shāh for the eventual conquest and division of the territories of the Mewār Rāna, their common rival.⁵² The Rāna when attacked by the Gujrāt forces, in pursuance of the scheme, abandoned Kambhalmīr and fled to Chitōr, giving fight all the way. After the second day's battle before the fort gate, in which gallantry had been displayed by both the parties, Rāna

48. III, 130.

49. Tab. Akb. III, 130.

50. One of the 32 fortresses erected by the Rana, and named after him. Commissariat His. of Gujrāt, p. 143.

51. Tab. Akb. III, 131.

52. Tab. Akb. III, 131.

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Kumbh opened the door of peace, by offering four maunds of gold and other rarities, and stipulated in the treaty (of Chitor), that "he will not cause any injury to the vilayat of Nagaur."⁵³ This meant the restitution of Nagaur by the Rāna. After this, the Rāna retired to Mewār leaving Nagaur in the hands of the local chiefs, most likely a son of Shams Khān, who held it on behalf of his father, who stayed at Aḥmadabād as a courtier.

But hardly had three months elapsed, when news was brought that Rāna Kumbh had marched on Mewār again with 5000 cavalry-men. That very day, Aḥmad Shāh came out of Aḥmadabād for mobilising an army. At this, the Rāna retired to his country, and Aḥmad Shāh came back to Aḥmadabād. This threatened attack on Nagaur, after solemn pledges in the treaty, enraged Aḥmad Shāh and gave him a pretext for attacking Kambhalmīr. Through the attack on Kambhalmīr proved futile, Maḥmūd Khiljī's investment of Chitōr, compelled the Rāna to sue for peace once again. The new treaty seems to have confirmed the old treaty of Chitōr. Maḥmūd Khiljī got Mandsōr (now in Gwalior State), and some other Parganas adjacent to Mālwa territories.

When Aḥmad Shāh died in 873/1468, the Qutbi nobles, suspecting that he had been administered poison by the wife of the Sultān who was Shams Khān's daughter, to secure her father's elevation to the throne of Gujrāt, executed Shams Khān (II). The bereaved queen-mother handed over Shams Khān's daughter to slave girls who hacked her to pieces till she died.⁵⁴

After this incident we lose sight of the history of Nagaur till we come to the story of its annexation by Sultān Sikandar Lōdī. In about 917/1512, 'Alī Khān, and Aba Bakr Khān, who were relatives of Muḥammad Khān,⁵⁵ the occupant of the gadī of Nagaur, plotted to kill the latter and seize Nagaur. Muḥammad Khān defeated his rivals who fled to seek refuge in the court of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī. This fratricidal war was welcomed by Sikandar Lōdī. Apprehending that their cause might be taken up by Sultān Sikandar, Muḥammad Khān courted the good-will of that powerful occupant of the throne of Delhi and Agra, by sending gifts and consenting to read the Khutba and issue coins in Sultān Sikandar's name.⁵⁶ And it seems that Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II (917-31/1511-

53. Tab. Akb. III, 132.

54. Tab. Akb. III, 134.

55. Might have been a son or grand-son of Shams Khān II.

56. Acc. to Badāūnī, I, 321, this event took place in 915/1509.

24) did not bother himself to protect such a distant outpost, and that too at the cost of picking up a quarrel with one of the most powerful monarchs ever occupying the throne of Delhi. Sultān Sikandar too on his part sent a mission of friendship to Ahmāda-bad⁵⁷ an action which was interpreted by the Gujrātīs as the first confirmation of independence of Gujrāt by the sovereigns of Delhi.

Thus had Nagaur become a Lōdī dependency till at least the rest of Sultān Sikandar's reign.

Ancestry of the Dandānīs. The Dandānīs of Nagaur and the Sultāns of Gujrāt were descended from a common ancestor (vide genealogical table), Zafar Khān Wajih-ul-Mulk. It is generally accepted⁵⁸ that Wajih-ul-Mulk was a Tānk Rājput convert to Islām. Babar testifies to his Rajput origin in his memoirs.⁵⁹ The story of the conversion of two Tānk Rājput brothers has been described in detail by the author of Mir'at-i Sikandari.⁶⁰ It is said that Prince Firūz having gone out a-hunting near Thāneswar found himself at nightfall separated from his men. He sought shelter in a village house occupied by Sādhū and Sahāran, two brothers belonging to a well-to-do Rājput family of the Tānk clan. Coming to know of the respectability of their guest, they gave their sister in 'nikah' to the prince. The two brothers followed the prince to Delhi and later accepted Islām. Sahāran was granted the title of Wajih-ul-Mulk (Support of the State), at Firūz Shah's accession to the throne of Delhi. Zafar Khān and Shams Khān, the two sons of Wajih-ul-Mulk were raised to the rank of nobles and appointed to the office of cup-bearers.^{60a} Zafar Khān was born in 1342, so that at the time of his appointment as the governor of Gujrat in 1391, he was 49 years old.

Architectural Remains. Nagaur is a walled city, with a population of 13,377 (1901 Census), the town wall extending to more than four miles in length, and between 2½ to 5 ft. in thickness, and with an average of 17 feet in height. The battlements bear many Arabic and Persian inscription on account of building material being requisitioned from a number of its innumerable mosques by the Maharāja Bakht Singh.⁶¹ The fort rising above the town, has a double

57. Tab. Akb. III, 171.

58. Only Nizamuddin, Tab. I, 230, says that Zafar Khān was a Persian.

59. Beveridge II, 197.

60. Bayley, Local Mahomedan Dynasties, Gujrāt, 69-71.

60a. Commissariat History of Gujrāt, p. 48.

61. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, p. 298.

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wall, nearly a mile long, the outer being 25 feet and the inner 30 ft. at the base, and about 12 feet at the top.

The most beautiful remains of the 15th century history, is the Shamsi Mosque, a five-domed structure, and the Shamsi Tānk nearby⁶² both constructed by Shams Khān Dandānī, the founder of the local dynasty of the Nagaur chiefs.

Of the scholars and holy men, the name of Khawājah Husain of Nagaur deserves mention. He was a descendent of the famous Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri, and a disciple of Shaik Kabir. He had widely travelled and was a man of learning and piety. He was the first man who began laying a solid structure over the grave of Sh Mu'inuddīn Chishtī at Ajmēr, "at a time when Ajmer was ruined and its vicinity turned into a wilderness". Later he settled at Nagaur preaching and professing. He is the author of a Tafsir entitled Nūr-un-Nabī, also of memoirs and letters. He is also said to have written a biography of Sh Aḥmad Ghazzālī.^{62a} He had a cart to go round and he himself took care of the oxen. He visited Māndū at the request of Sultān Ghiāsuddin Khiljī of Mālwa (873-906/1458-1500). The Sultān showed him great respect and requested him to pray at the grave of the Sultān's father. He accepted only a portion of the present offered by the Sultān and spent it in erecting the tomb of Khawāja Mu'inuddīn Chishtī and of Qāzi Hamid-ud-din Nagaurī, his own grand-father. The solid structure which stood during the reign of Akbar over the grave of the great Khawāja, had been erected, according to the author of Akhbār-ul-Akhiyār, partly by this holyman and scholar and partly by the Sultans of Mālwa.^{62b}

III

THE QADIR KHANI DYNASTY OF KALPI

Mahoba and Kālpī,⁶³ the latter a city of immense strategic importance, and a stepping stone towards east and south India, were usurped by Maḥmūd Khān, son of Malik-zādah Fīrūz,⁶⁴ soon after Timūr's departure from India. Hodivāla, the late lamented numismatist and historian, has brought to light an exceedingly important

62. Arch. Survey of India Rep., 1921-22, p. 71.

62a. 'Abdul Ḥaq Akhbār-ul-Akhiyār, Mujtabi Press, Delhi, p. 177.

62b.

Do.

Do.

Do.

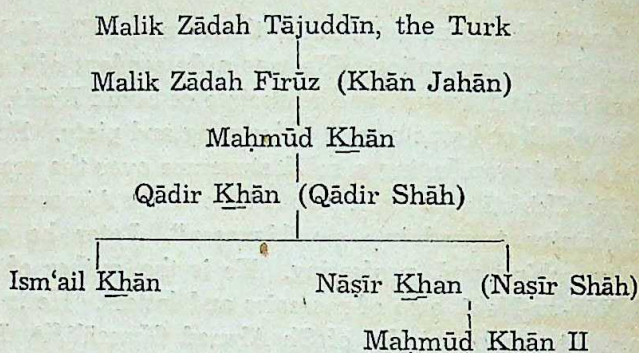
p. 178.

63. 26.8 N and 79.45 E in Jalaon Distt., U.P., on the bank of the Jumna, on the road from Cawnpore and Saugor, on the G. I. P. R.

64. Tar. Mub. Shāhī, 168; Maasīr-i Rahīmī, I 396.

and interesting coin of this Mahmud Khān (son of Malik Zādah Fīrūz), in a paper entitled, "Un-assigned coins of Jalāl Shāh Sul-tānī", in the Numismatic Supplement No. XLII to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1929, Article No. 289.⁶⁵

The following is a genealogical table of the Qādir Khāni or Qādir Shāhī Dynasty.

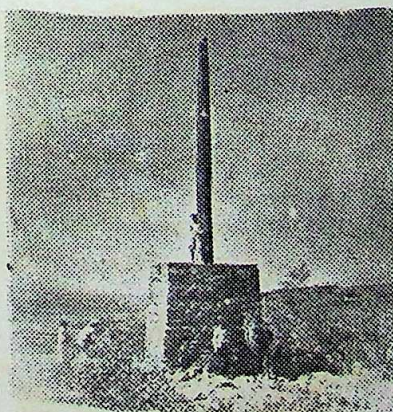


Maḥmūd Khān appears to have enjoyed a sovereign position till 816/1413. In 815/1412, Sultān Maḥmūd Tughlak having died at Kather (Rohilkhand), Daulat Khan was raised by the nobles to the vacant throne of Delhi. This gave an excuse to Harsingh the Kather chief and Maḥābat Khān, governor of Badāun to rebel. Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, intent on fishing in the troubled waters, marched on Kālpī, for the possession of this high road to the west, and besieged Qādir Khān, son of Maḥmūd Khān. Daulat Khān came to the rescue of Qādir Khān, and a furious battle took place, in which the Delhi forces being defeated fell back on the metropolis. This Sharqī victory resulted in the acknowledgment of Sharqī vassalage by the chiefs of Kālpī. Kālpī next comes into the historical picture, in 830/1426. Its chief seems to have transferred his alligiance to the rulers of Delhi, sometime during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Syad, for, the news of a Sharqī army marching on Delhi (described in connection with the history of Biāna), was given by Qādir Khān, governor of Kālpī to Mubārak Shāh, the second ruler of the Syad Dynasty of Delhi kings. In 837/1433 Kālpī again became the battle-ground between the rulers of Mālwa and Jaunpūr, and Delhi. The cause of this sudden activity is not known. The historian only says that when Ibrahim Shah's forces arrived near Kālpī, Hushang Shāh of Mālwa, marched at the head of his forces to eject him. A major clash was averted when Ibrāhīm

65. See also Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 400.

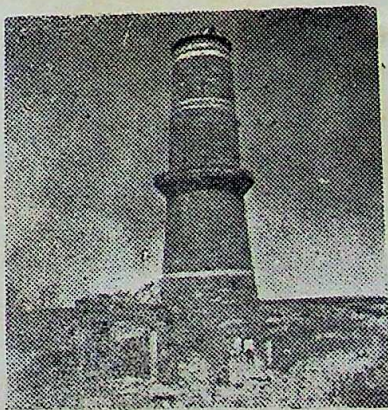


Entrance door of Dāūd Khān's Minār at Bayana with inscriptions



Tapering Lat or Red Sandstone Monolith of Vishnu Vardhan S/o Yasovardhana (close to the Southern wall of the Bayana Fort)

(Photo taken by History Students of M.A. Final, A. U., Aligarh)



Dāūd Khān's Tower, Bayana Fort
(Photo taken by History Students of M.A. Final, A. U., Aligarh)

(Photo taken by History Students of M.A. Final, A. U., Aligarh)
Surukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Shāh left Kālpī for Jaunpūr on receipt of news from spies to the effect that Mubārak Shāh Syad had invaded Jaunpūr (through the Doab) in retaliation for an attack on Kālpī, because its chief Qādir Khān was a vassal of Mubārak Shāh. The spies were right. Mubārak Shāh had actually mobilised his forces and was about to march on Jaunpūr, when he fell a victim to a plot and was treacherously murdered in the Juma mosque of Mubarakabād, a new city which he had built on the bank of the Jumna, by Sidh Pāl, a Khattri, acting as an agent of Sarwar-ul-Mulk, the ambitious Wazir, who was designing to put the crown of Delhi on his own head. Hushang Shāh conquered Kālpī without shedding a single drop of blood, and forced its chief to read the Khutba in his name. He stayed there sufficiently long to instal Qādir Khān as the vassal of the Mālwa ruler. After the death of Mubārak Shāh, Delhi was eliminated from the list of competitors for the control of Kālpī, for, Mubārak Shāh's successors had not the strength to protect territories even in the vicinity of the metropolis. Qādir Khān was succeeded on the Gadi of Kālpī, it appears, by his own son Isma'il Khān⁶⁶ who is noticed in history giving refuge to Malik Sulaimān, the rebel chief fleeing from the wrath of Maḥmūd Shāh Khiljī of Mālwa, in 842/1438.

In 847/1443,⁶⁷ the struggle between the Sharqī and Mālwa rulers for the control of Kālpī flared up again, during the reign of Naṣir Khān, son of Qādir Khān, and successor of Ism'il Khān. Naṣir Khān offended Maḥmūd Shāh Mālwi, by assuming the title of Shāh which amounted to the open declaration of independence.⁶⁸ A very strong representation was made to Mandu by Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī, complaining that Naṣir Shāh had turned an apostate from Islām; had bidden adieu to Muslim prayers and fasts, had given Muslim girls to Nayaks to be trained as dancers, had destroyed the township of Shāh-pūr, a dependency of Kālpī and had banished the Muslims from their habitations. The complaint was punctuated by suitable presents. Maḥmūd Shāh Khiljī told the Sharqī envoy that he had heard everything about Naṣir Shāh and assured that he would take the earliest opportunity to punish him as soon as his hand was free from the Miwat expedition, and gave a tacit approval to the Sultan of Jaunpūr to chastise him by adding that

66. Tab. Akb. III 321.

67. Nizamuddin, Tab. Akb., III, p. 326 has 849 H whereas on p. 279 has 847. The former is a misprint for 847.

68. Tab. Akb. III, 323. Maasir-i Rahimī I, 132.

"the suppression of apostacy is incumbent on all Muslim sovereigns".⁶⁹ This reply immensely pleased the Sharqī Sultān so that he sent to Māndu 29 elephants as presents to Maḥmūd Shāh. An army was sent by the Sharqī Sultān for ejecting Naṣīr Shāh who fearing his doom, sent representations to Māndu through his uncle 'Alī Khān⁷⁰ refuting the allegations of apostacy made against him, reaffirming the old loyalty of his house to the throne of Mālwa, and imploring forgiveness for his past misdeeds. But before the Mālwa envoy could reach Jaunpūr, Naṣīr Shāh was driven by Maḥmūd Shāh from Kālpī and had to make a second appeal to Maḥmūd Shāh by paying respects to him at Chanderī. And when Naṣīr Shāh sought refuge at Irich and Bhānder, Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī marched thither, and took Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān, governor of Irich a prisoner. And when he learnt that a Mālwa force was on the march, Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī withdrew to a strong position on the ravines of the Jumna, in its narrow reaches. Leaving a detachment of his forces besieging the Sharqīs, Maḥmūd Khiljī hastened to capture Kālpī. Meanwhile the Sharqī forces facing the Mālwa army fought stubbornly a full day's engagement from morn till night-fall, and when a few days later rains approached, Sultān Maḥmūd Khiljī retired to Fathabād, from where he sent an army under Malikush Sharq Muẓaffar, son of Ibrāhīm Khān, governor of Chanderī, to Irich⁷¹ to free it from Mubārak Khān, son of Junid Khān whose rule had become too tyrannical to be tolerated by his people. The Mālwa army came to grips with the Sharqīs under Malik Kālū near the township of Rāth. The Sharqīs were defeated and fled but Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī would not acknowledge defeat so easily. He sent a detachment of his army to capture Barhār, the chief of which was a Mālwa vassal. And when checked in that direction, he (Maḥmūd Sharqī) again turned towards Irich where he entrenched himself and engaged the Mālwa forces in bloody encounter lasting for several days. At last both the parties became solicitous for peace, and finally at the intercession of Shaikh Jābulandah, a holy man and spiritual guide of Maḥmūd Mālwi⁷² who wrote a personal letter to Maḥmūd Shāh of

69. Tab. III 279.

70. Maasir-i Rahīmī I, 132.

71. Tab. Akb. III 282. Irich is a town in Jhānsi District, in Moth Tahsil, 42 miles N. E. of Jhānsi town. Fuhrer Arch. Sur. of India Rep., New Series Vol. II, p. 117.

72. Lies buried in the vault containing the graves of the Sultāns of Mālwa, at Māndū. Muhammad Ghausi Mandvi-Gulzār-i-Abrār.

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Mālwa, it was stipulated (by the treaty of Irich 849/1445)⁷³, that Naṣir Shāh should be given the towns of Rāth⁷⁴ and Mahoba with their dependencies, and that Kālpi was to be given him back four months after the departure of Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī. With great reluctance the Mālwa Sultān gave his adhesion to the compact.

Kālpi became a Sharqī dependency when Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa became old and the Sharqī throne was occupied by Ḥusain Shāh. The latter launching on a career of conquest, brought Gwālior, Biāna and Miwat under his sway, in about 871/1466. None of our sources has revealed the name of the ruler of Kālpi of that time. But he ought to be Maḥmūd II who was in possession of Kālpi at the time of Bahlul Lōdī's usurpation of the throne of Delhi. He had assumed the title of Maḥmūd Shāh. The chiefs of Kālpi remained in Sharqī vassalage till the final defeat of Ḥusain Shāh at the hands of Bahlul Lōdī, culminating in his ejection from Jaunpūr, in 888/1483. During the last stages of the struggle between Ḥusain Shāh and Bahlul, a very contested battle was fought near Kālpi at Rangaw. Immediately after the capture of Jaunpūr, Bahlul turned towards Kālpi, captured it from Maḥmūd Shāh and gave it as an appanage to his grandson, Prince 'Aẓam Humāyūn Lōdī, son of Prince Bāyezīd (killed by a servant), son of Bahlul Lōdī. After the death of Bahlul in 894/1489, Prince 'Aẓam Humāyūn became one of the contestants for the throne of Delhi. The quick-witted Nizām Khān, a younger son of Bahlul through a gold-smith's daughter, succeeded in defeating his opponents, namely his elder brother Bārbak Shāh, the governor of Jaunpūr, and his nephew Prince 'Aẓam Humāyūn Khān Lōdī, the governor of Kālpi, and ascending the throne of Delhi under the title of Sikandar Shāh. The latter replaced 'Aẓam Humāyūn by Maḥmūd Khān Lōdī in the government of Kālpi. Maḥmūd Khān Lōdī having died at Kālpi, his son Jalāl Khān succeeded him in 913/1508, according to Sultān Sikandar's order. While laying siege to the fort of Nārwar (now in Gwalior state), during the same year, Sikandar Lōdī was so impressed by the number and efficiency of Jalāl Khān's retainers, that he grew jealous of him and dismissed him. But soon after he restored Jalāl Khān in the governorship of Kālpi at the intercession of Nia'mat Khātūn. Quṭb Khān Lōdī's widow. At Sultān Sikandar Lōdī's death in 923/1517, Kālpi and

73. Maasir-i Rahimī, I, 103.

74. Rāth town is the headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Hamir-pūr District, U. P. sit. 25°36' N. and 79°34' E, 50 miles from Hamir-pūr town. I. G.

Jaunpūr were placed by the nobles in charge of Prince Jalāl Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar. That unlucky prince was left with no other choice except to rebel against his brother Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī, who knew of 'no kinship in king-ship', and proclaim himself Sultān Jalāluddīn. Prince Jalāl Khān ultimately lost his life in his brother's prison.

Ancestry of the Qādir Khānīs. Maḥmūd Khān who was the founder of the local dynasty of Kālpi chiefs, was the son of Malik Zāda Fīrūz, son of Malik Tājuddīn the Turk. And consequently its Turkish origin is established beyond doubt. It may be recalled that Malik Tājuddīn was sent to Bengal to conduct an expedition against Hāji Ilyās, in 760/1358,⁷⁵ and Malik Zāda Fīrūz his son⁷⁶ was conferred the fief of Patlāhī (Patiāli ?) by Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq in 779/1377. In 790/1388 Malik Zāda Fīrūz was made Wazīr and invested with the title of Khān Jahān, by Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fath Khān (bin Fīrūz), Fīrōz Shāh's successor, and murdered by the partisans of Abu Bakr Shāh, along with his chief.⁷⁷

Architectural Remains. The kingdom of Kālpi roughly speaking, extended over an area stretching on both sides of Jumna and comprised the greatest portion of the modern districts of Jalaon, Hamīr-pūr and Jhānāī. The town of Kālpi which was captured by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1193 A.D., rose into importance during the days of the local dynasty whose history I have tried to outline. The old city which stands north-west of the new town, was perched on a clay cliff overhanging the Jumna. The ruined fort occupies the highest position and commands the passage of the river; it has broken walls only on three land sides, the river front being inaccessible.⁷⁸ To the west-ward, there are many old tombs and masjids, now in ruins.

Of the existing monuments, only Chaurāsī Gumbaz is the structure which can be connected with the history of 15th century. This remarkable building standing on a platform 125 ft. square, and 80 ft. high, is the tomb of Maḥmūd Khān, may be of the local dynasty, but from the local tradition which makes it a Lōdīshāh Badshāh ka Gumbad and from the bold style of its construction, Fuhrer finds in it a structure of the Lōdī style and hence it ought to be the grave of Maḥmūd Khān Lōdī, its first Lōdī governor. It

75. Tab. Akb. I, 231.

76. Tār Mub Shāhī, 141-2; Tab. Akb. I, 242 Vol. III, 235.

77. Tab. I, 242.

78. Fuhrer, Arch. Sur. of India New Series, Vol. II, U.P., p. 112.

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is impossible to say why this solid structure is called Chaurāhi Gumbaz, because by all earthly imagination, the number of domes cannot appear to exceed forty-five. Its main dome rises about 60 ft. above the flat terraced roof. But the appearance of the great central dome rising from 40 ft. or more cylindrical neck, above the terraced roof is extremely bold and impressing.⁷⁹ Whoever might lie within the Chaurāsī Gumbaz and whoever the architect, we have this information on the authority of the writer of *Gulzar-i Abrar*,⁸⁰ that a huge cathedral mosque constructed by Maḥmūd Khān most probably the founder of the dynasty, stood for a long time at Kālpī.

Outside Kālpī, the Juma mosque at Irich, bearing an inscription dated 815/1412, constructed by Qāzī Ziauddīn the Imperial Jagirdār of Delhi, during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq may be included in the relics of the period we are concerned with. According to Fuhrer⁸¹ this mosque situated in the fort, "is a fine specimen of its kind and consists of a group of small domes, round a large central dome. ... The central hall from its size, height and evident massiveness of its constructive detail, produces a striking effect. The domes are all hemispherical, crowned by foliated caps of enormous size, which makes the form of the domes unpleasing. The colours used are red, blue, yellow and green; the arches are of stone and brick as also the walls."

The city of Kālpī (old name of Muḥammadabād)⁸² contains the tomb of Shaikh 'Alauddīn Qureshī Gwālīorī, a desciple of Syad Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz, a holy man and scholar who had renounced the world and was in the habit of throwing swept dust at his door-stop, to discourage visitors.⁸³ It was at Kālpī that Maulāna Aḥmad, son of Maulāna Muḥammad of Thāneswar, a contemporary of Bahlul Lōdī, came and settled till the end of his life. The Maulāna was captured by Tīmūr, who soon after, turned into his admirer, and set him at liberty. He did not long stay in Delhi after Tīmūr's departure and came away to Kālpī. He wrote *Qasīdas* in chaste Persian.⁸⁴

79. Arch. Sur. of India Rep., New Series, Vol. II, U. P. Fuhrer p. 113.

80. Muḥammad Ghausī, *Gulzar-i Abrār*, Royal As. Soc., Cal., Ms. f. 101b.

81. Fuhrer, Arch. Sur. of Ind. Rep., N. S. Vol. II, U.P. 117.

82. Akhbārul Akhiyār, 'Abul Ḥaq, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, p. 159.

83.

Do.

Do.

Do.

84. *Gulzar-i Abrār*, Muḥammad Ghausī of Māndū, Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta MS., f. 43 (b).

Another great man whom the vicissitudes of fortune had pushed to Kālpi, a refugee fleeing from Tīmūr's line of march, was Maulāna Khwājagī Aḥmad Kāshāī,⁸⁵ a disciple and successor to the mantle of Shaikh Naṣiruddīn Maḥmūd of Delhi, and teacher (ustād) of the great Qāzi Shahābuddīn 'Umar Daulatabādī, the famous legist and scholar of Jurisprudence in the court of the Sharqī kings of Jaunpūr. Maulāna Khwājagī's tomb lies in Kālpi.

Another great mystic and scholar who lived and died in Kālpi was Shaikh Ḥasan, son of Shaikh 'Abdullah Quraishī (son of Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī, a descendant of Haḍzrat Bahāuddīn Zakaria Quraishī of Multān), a disciple of Shaikh Burhān Anṣār of Kālpi. Shaikh Ḥasan lies buried in Kālpi.⁸⁶ He is described by Muḥammad Ghausī (author of *Gulzār-i Abrār*), as being "well-versed in Persian poetry, including the verses of the ancient poets. He was intensely pious and rarely attended Sama (music)".

Qāzi Burhān of Kālpi was a divine of the Shattāriyā Order⁸⁷ and the spiritual guide of Hushang Shāh of Mālwa.

85. 'Abdul Haq, *Akḥbār-ul-Akhiyār*, Muṭtabai Press, Delhi, 141.

86. *Gulzār-i-Abrar*, 86(a).

87. Do. 98 (b).

The Status of Women in the Vedic Age

(The Sankara-Parvati Lectures)

BY

DR. (MISS) P. C. DHARMA, M.A., L.T., D. LITT.

Our knowledge of ancient India rests mainly on literary works, which give us a full, connected and clear account of the evolution of civilization and culture, such as we shall seek for in vain among the records of any other equally ancient nation. The literature of each period reflects the condition of society of that particular period, and as the status of women gives us a truer picture of the civilization of the times than any other social condition, I propose to give an account of the status of women in the Vedic Age.

Hopkins has remarked that woman in Hindu society is a creature of secondary importance and that the social accident of marriage created great differences between woman and woman. According to him, we have to study the condition of women under the rubrics of maiden, wife and widow. Woman as woman had no value and as a wife she was the object of exaggerated importance and of course the widow was a being socially apart from both girl and wife. Although the truth of these statements cannot be denied even today, (especially in Hindu society) the status of the Vedic woman was comparatively speaking better than in the subsequent ages.

Exposure of girl infants—a myth. There is no proof that the Vedic Indians practised the exposure of female children as contested by certain scholars like Zimmer¹ who refer to certain passages in the later Samhitas.² The argument for infanticide has been based on the passage which refers to the laying aside of the female child (which does not amount to exposure) while a boy was lifted up by the parents with expressions of joy and delight. The resentment at the birth of a girl was a natural sentiment in early society especially among the Orientals.

1. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 395.

2. Kāthaka Samhita, XXVII. 9.

Daughter—her place in the household. The birth of a daughter was no doubt not welcome as she was a source of great anxiety to the parents. The intense longing to see her happily married and settled in life and the fear of moral risks to unwedded girls account for this partiality for sons. In the *R̥gveda* we find references to the frequent longing for the birth of a boy³ but not for the birth of a girl. In a verse of the *Atharvaveda*⁴ there are allusions to mystic charms for changing the foetus into a male one. It rightly echoes the general desire:—"The birth of a girl, grant elsewhere, here grant a boy" reads the passage. Why were they particular about the birth of boys? A boy was preferred to a girl because he would always remain with his parents, continue the family line, offer oblations to the dead, and be a source of comfort and support to parents in old age. But these things could not be expected of a girl for whom a good dowry had to be given during marriage, and who had to be maintained in the event of her remaining unmarried by a share of the paternal property⁵ for her independent support. Hence the advent of a girl in the family was more an occasion for gloom than rejoicing. The *Aitreya Brahmana*⁶ contains an old verse (*gātha*) in which a daughter has been characterised as a misery (*kṛpaṇam*), while a son was hailed with delight as light in the highest heaven.

Maiden. The young girl was called *duhitr*⁷ and according to A. C. Das⁸ it is indicative of her principal duty, namely the milking of the cow. But S. C. Sarkar⁹ following Professors Keith and Macdonell explains the word as "the potential nourisher of the child" (from *duh* milk). "Her association with milk and its other preparations is brought out in several instances and the name is probably due to these domestic duties that she preferred." "The milking of the cow and preparing clarified butter and curds seem to have been the chief concern." "The joyous maiden is beheld where the butter flows."¹⁰ Besides tending cows, "she wove

3. RV. I-91-20; -92, 13; III-1-23; X-85. 25, 41, 42, 45.

4. AV: VIII-6-25. VI-11-3.

5. RV. II. 17. 7.

6. Ait. Brah. VII-15.

7. RV. III. 31-1 ff.

8. A. C. Das, *R̥gvedic Culture*, p. 246.

9. S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, p. 104.

10. B. S. Uphādya, *Women in the R̥gveda*, p. 35.

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cloth" (tantu) and "embroidered garments" (work done by spinsters). She also brought water from wells and watched the crops.¹¹

The legal status of the daughter was comparatively better, than that of a wife or widow. She was given a share in the property if unmarried, in her own right and not as a paternal bounty. Her maintenance was a legal right and a charge on her father's property and it became void only when she ceased her connections with the family after her marriage.

Education. The disciplinary education of girls does not seem to have been neglected, and the cultured classes gave them a very comprehensive education. They were educated both in the spiritual and the secular subjects. The sound religious instruction that the young brahmacārinīs received made them carve out a position of eminence and win their rightful place in society. The secular side of their education consisted of fine arts and military science.

There were lady ṛsis in R̥gvedic times, who composed verses, performed sacrifices, offered hymns to the Gods, and won glory and fame. Princess Ghosa¹² was a well-known lady rsi; the other celebrities being Suryā,¹³ Saci,¹⁴ Sārparājñi,¹⁵ Lopāmudrā,¹⁶ Mamatā,¹⁷ etc. Visvavārā is credited with the composition of verses in praise of Agni or Fire; she even acted as a priest (Rtvj) (RV. V-28-1)—a privilege denied to women in later ages by the selfish narrow minded priestcraft. Apāla's hymn was in honour of Indra (RV. VIII-91-4) to whom she offered the soma herself. It was through her earnest hymns to Indra that her father was cured of his baldness and his fields became productive, while she herself was cured of the skin disease for which she had been abandoned by her husband (RV. VIII. 91-4 ff).

As a qualification for marriage the education¹⁸ of the maiden was considered as important as that of men. "An unmarried young learned daughter should be married to a bridegroom who like her is learned. The Atharvaveda¹⁹ is equally strong in its support of

11. RV. VIII. 80.

12. RV. I-117; 7; X. 39 and 40.

13. Ibid, X-85.

14. Ibid, X. 159.

15. Ibid, X-189.

16. Ibid, I-179. 4.

17. Ibid, VI. 10. 2.

18. Vide, Dr. A. S. Altekar. The position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p. 13 ff.

19. A. V. XI. 5-18.

women's education. [It says that "a king by observing brahmācārya (the vow of study) can protect his kingdom easily, an acārya can impart education to his students if he has himself observed brahmācārya. A young daughter after the observance of brahmācārya should be married to a young man."] In the vedic society therefore studentship was the universal jumping off ground for every career of life.

It is curious that women of the vedic period were interested in plant life and animal life. Reference is made to a plant black in hue—(probably indigo) (AV: I-23-1 ff) as having been medically used by āsura women (AV: I-24-2) and the Kirata²⁰ women (AV. X-4-14) of the mountains. They probably collected and sold drugs and herbs to the vedic āśrama settlements. Did medical functions in early Vedic period belong to women?

Music and dancing were certainly taught to women. Songs were sung on all important occasions such as squeezing out the soma juice, etc. The following verse is an illustration:

"Driving there in Vivasvan's course, the seven
sisters with their hymns
made melody round the sage."²¹

Again another passage says: "Ten dames have sung to welcome thee, even as a maiden greets her lover". We find direct references to the female dancer Nṛtu who is described as putting on pēsāmsi or embroidered garments for dancing ("She like a dancer, put her embroidered garments on").²² Whether dancing was mixed or not is a doubtful question although Kaegi suggests its existence and says that young men taking maidens by the hand whirled about to the accompaniment of the cymbals. Music and dancing therefore must have been included in the maiden's training in arts.

Women sometimes accompanied their husbands to war, and Viśpalā, the queen of King Khala, who had lost her leg in conflict

20. Cf. Kirata race: "the Kiratas (the Kurhadae of Arrian) were a barbarous non-Aryan or degraded race who inhabited woods and mountains and supported themselves by hunting". (See Griffith; Hymns of the Atharva Veda, p. 160).

21. RV. I-92-4.

22. A. Kaegi. The Rgveda, p. 10.

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had it replaced by an iron (ayasi) one, through the grace of Asvins :—

“When in the time of night, in Khela’s battle,
a leg was severed like a wild bird’s pinion,
Straight gave Viśpala a leg of iron that
she might move what time the conflict opened.”²³

Mudgalānī or Indrasena, wife of the sage Mudgala, helped her husband in the pursuit of robbers who had stolen their cows, drove the car for her husband when he was in difficulty, gave battle, defeated them, and recovered the stolen property.²⁴ These instances show that women played a very important part in the domestic and social life of the Vedic period, receiving not only high intellectual and secular training but also a physical training equally with the men, whom they sometimes surpassed in bravery, intelligence and cleverness; and the reference in the R̥gveda²⁵ to women-warriors leads one to surmise that women received some sort of military training which enabled them to become soldiers.

The Vedic women were even members of the Sabha²⁶ or Vidathā, a popular assembly, and took part in the reciting of verses, singing of holy psalms, discoursing on philosophy (Brahma vidyā) and ‘laying down of the rules of sacrifice’.

Costumes. Though the Vedic references to the materials and manner of dressing, etc., are few, incidentally they throw much side light on contemporary social conditions. Skins formed one class of ‘Vedic clothing’ material. One is not quite sure whether skin robes were put on by women. The texts know of the primitive material of grass the ‘kuśa’ skirt (round the hips only) which the sacrificer’s wife had to wear over her ordinary dress²⁷ and which

23. R. V. I. 116-15.

See also RV. I-112-10; I-118-8; X-39-8.

24. RV. X-102-2.

25. R. V. V. 30-9.

26. R. V. I-167-3.

27. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 2-18. cf. ‘Sat. Brah. III. 2-1, 10 f. (the Mekhala of Sani of three cords intertwined with muñja plaited like hair).

“The lower part of the body immediately below the navel was regarded as unclean (amedhya) and had to be completely covered up from view of the objects of the sacrifice. The wife of the sacrificer, who also took an active part in the sacrifice, wearing as she did a skirt or a cloth arranged like a skirt or petticoat, could not cover up the “unclean” parts of her body completely from view of the objects of sacrifice lying scattered below on the

is evidently a relic of the pre-historic garment. The silk garment was probably more common in Vedic ritual than the woollen. Kṣauma was another variety of silk very often used in the ritual, but the Vedic index explains it as a linen garment.²⁸ It is used in the sense of silk in the Ramayana.

The other material for clothing ūrna²⁹ or wool is frequently mentioned in the R̥gveda. The epithet ūrna mradas³⁰ 'soft as wool' was quite a common one. The sheep is called ūrnāvati³¹ or woolly. In the Atharvaveda (XIV-2-66 f) Kambalas (blankets) and Sāmūlya³² (undergarments of wool) are part of the ordinary domestic outfit of both men and women. According to the Vedic Index Sāmūlya denotes a woollen garment worn at night (RV. X-85-29) and Sarkar suggests that kambala³³ might mean animal fur or hair as well.

References to weaving are very common in the R̥gveda and there were female weavers—Siris³⁴—from very early times. The making of embroidered garments was a regular occupation of women as is indicated by the Pésakārī, the female embroiderer figuring in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha (human sacrifice) in the Yajurveda, though the commentator on the Taittiriya Brahmana

altar, as her husband did by means of his underclothing, and hence a device was resorted to for yoking her to the sacrifice, as it were, by means of a triple plaited rope made of muñja grass, which was passed round her waist below the navel over her garment, in the shape of a belt (rasana or mekhala) by the priest known as Agnidhra. The lady thus 'yoked' had to sit down near the altar at her appointed place till the termination of the sacrifice, so that the ājya or the clarified butter, specially appropriate to the Gods, was visible only to the upper or clean parts of her body. A device like this would not certainly have been necessitated or resorted to, if she had worn breeches or trousers, or worn the nivi in the manner of the males" (R̥g Vedic Culture by A. C. Das, p. 214).

28. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 212.

29. RV. IV. 22. 2. 'Satapatha' Brāhmaṇa, XII. 5-1; 13.

30. Ibid, V-5-4; X-18-10.

31. Ibid, VII-56-3.

32. 'Sāmūlya might refer to vests, robes, or wrapper of light cotton padding, probably means a light quilt of cotton wool used in the bridal bed (cf. 'Sālmali' silk cotton tree). The word 'Sāmilya may also be probably traced to the modern Tamil word Semmeri meaning Ewe' (See Some Aspects of the Early Social History of India, p. 59).

33. Cf. Tamil Kambali, rough hair cloth.

34. 'Sinis probably has a pre-Aryan origin. It may be connected with the Tamil Selai cloth (cf. also Tamil Sarigai, embroidered fringe and probably connected with the vernacular sari. (Patnis wove embroidered cloths for their husbands. Cf. AV. XIV. 2-51 associated with domestic prosperity).

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interprets the word as "wife of a maker of gold" (Vidē Vedic Index, p. 22).

The term *Péśas*³⁵ in the *Ṛgveda* denotes an embroidered garment with artistic and intricate designs inlaid with gold, heavy and brilliant, such as a female dancer³⁶ (*nṛtu*) would wear. The fondness of the Indians for such raiment is noted by Megasthenes³⁷ and Arrian.³⁸ Women were always fond of dressing themselves well so as to be attractive.³⁹ The garments were well made and beautiful and dyed cloths with rich gold thread brocades were worn by gay women (RV. I-92-4; X-1 6) as illustrated in the attire of Uṣas. The red and gold borders indicated the horizon at sunrise and sunset (RV. I-95-7).

It is very difficult to ascertain the forms of male and female dress, and there is nothing to show exactly the forms of the clothing in either case. Muir⁴⁰ says that the form of garments was probably much the same as among the modern Hindus. According to Macdonnell and Keith⁴¹ the Vedic Indian seems to have had three garments, an undergarment (*nīvi*) a garment and an overgarment (*adhivāsa*-RV. I-140-9; X-5-4) 'and for which the names of *atka* and *drapi* also seemed to be used', and they further remark that "a similar sort of garment in the case of women appears to be alluded to in the *Atharvaveda* (VIII-2-16; XIV-2-50) and the '*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. 2-1, 8).

The word *Atka* (which occurs frequently in the *Ṛgveda*) is taken by Roth, Grassman, Ludwig, Zimmer to mean a garment in certain contexts, when expressions like "put on" (*vya* or *prati muñc* or "put off" *muñc*) or woven (*Vyūta*) or "well fitting" (*surabhi*) (RV: VI. 29. 3. X-123-7) are used. Probably it was a tailor made garment something like a jacket as it is referred to as well fitting, while the *Drāpi* may be taken as a mantle or cloak as suggested in the Vedic Index. It may be inferred that the common female dress consisted of an outer garment, the over garment, the scarf or mantle (*adhivāsa*) and sometimes something like

35. RV. I. 92. 4. 5. cf. also "yuvatīḥ supesah: RV. X. 114-3. Ibid. VIII 31-8. *Niranyapesas* worn by householder and his wife.

36. RV. I-92. 4. 5.

37. Strabo. p. 509.

38. Idica, 5. 9.

39. RV. IV--3. 2; X-71-4.

40. Muir O. S. T. V. 462.

41. Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 292.

a bodice (atka ?) might have also been worn. It was very similar to the dress described in the epics.

The manner of wearing is not directly indicated by any reference. The outer garment or 'vāsas' however was always 'tied' and this implies tucks and knots. The idiom 'nīvīm krt' shows that each individual wore the nīvī or knot in his or her own way. The nīvī⁴² knot was fashioned to form a pouch wherein magic herbs could be borne. There is no trace of the kasha (tuck of the plainer end of the cloth at the back) and the Dravidian style of wearing the cloth without the tuck at the back was at one time the fashion. (Women probably tied their nīvī on the right side of the hip). The nīvī must have been covered by the upper garment. It seems probable that women did not wind a part of the outer garment or 'vāsas' over the bosom and shoulders, and the vāsas covered only the lower half of the body as in Malabar. Apparently the upper part of the body was covered when necessary by a mantle. Whether she wore any headgear⁴³ or veil is not very clear.

Ornaments. The love of jewellery is to be seen even in the Vedic times and both men and women were fond of wearing ornaments. There must have been difference in the make of men's and women's ornaments. The word *niṣka* is frequently mentioned in the R̥gveda (RV. II-3-10 : VIII-47-15) as a golden ornament worn on the neck, as revealed by the epithet *niṣka grīva* (RV. V-19-3). As *niṣkas* were also used as coins we may presume that they must have been strung together as neck ornaments. The women wore golden necklaces or neck chains or pearl necklaces as pearls are mentioned in the R̥gveda (I-35-4 : X-68-1). *Khādī* was either a golden anklet worn both by men and women (RV. V-54-11 : 53-4) or an armlet worn on the arm or bangle worn on the wrist (RV. I-166-9 : VII-56-13). It sometimes signified a ring on the hand (*khādī hasta*. RV. V-58-2). Golden ornaments for the ear called *karnāsobhana* (pendents or ear-rings) are also mentioned. (RV. VIII-78-3). The nose ring is conspicuously absent from the list of

42. AV. VIII. 2. 16. (herbs to be borne in the woman's nīvī, evidently at the navel), AV. XIV-2-45 : 50. (Make thyself a nīvī of this vāsas where the context shows that nīvī is the hanging fold of the vāsas).

43. The special crowns worn by the bride and bridegroom in Bengal during marriage is probably a relic of the old custom. The special female crowns on the heads of the goddesses go to prove that it was a custom among women in ancient India to put on head dresses—perhaps these were indispensable on ceremonial occasions. cf. Coorg headdress, veil.

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ornaments given in the Vedic texts and came into vogue probably after the Mohammedan invasion.

Coiffure.⁴⁴ Women wove their hair in a number of different styles, which are however rather vaguely indicated by the special terms *stuka*, *Kurīra* or *kumba*, besides the *opāśa* and *kaparda*.

The term *Stuka* denoted a braid and there are epithets like *prthu ṣṭuka* (RV. X-86-8) which meant having broad braids, *viṣṭa ṣṭuka* (RV. I-167-5) meaning loosened braids.

The *Kurīra*⁴⁵ and the *kumba* were distinctly feminine styles. As *Kurīra* refers in a secondary sense to a horned animal, the *kurīra* might have been a horn shaped coiffure, possible only with the long braids of women.

The *kumba* which suggests a connection with the *kumbha* or pot, implies something rounded. It is to be noted that it occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (AV. VI-138-3) and may refer to a style of dressing the hair like a pot, although the Vedic Index regards these terms as denoting 'female head ornaments connected with the dressing of the hair' (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 163). There is reference to the *opasa*⁴⁶ in the *R̥gveda* (X-85-8; I-173. 6; VIII-14-5; IX-71-1) and the *Atharvaveda* (VI-138-12) which is a word of doubtful sense. According to the Vedic Index it probably meant a 'plait' as used in dressing the hair of women. From the epithet applied to the Goddess *Sinīvālī* as *Svaupaśa* (RV. I-173-5; VIII-14-5) Zimmer's guess is that it might refer to the wearing of false hair, but it does not seem to lead to such inference, for the epithet may mean that plaits were worn in a graceful manner.

The women dressed the hair in braids (*kaparda*) and sometimes it was woven into four braids (*catuṣ kaparda*) which "dangled behind on the back" (RV. X-114-3). The *Kaparda* from traditional representations was a spiral coil of the braided, plaited or matted hair, piled on the top of the head at different angles.

44. A. C. Das, *R̥gvedic Culture*, pp. 217 f. Dr. Rajendra Lal, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, pp. 212-217.

45. AV. VI-138. 3. See also Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 164.

46. In the case of the bride's hair being dressed into *kurira* and *opasa* where the two apparently form parts of the composite coiffure (AV. XIV. 1-8; RV. X-85-8), the *opasa* may be taken as a head ornament (Vedic Index). *Surya* had her hair done up into a *kurira* or crest, and this was probably the fashion of bridal coiffure in *R̥gvedic* times.

The four kapardas must have formed a crown shaped coiffure.⁴⁷ The following extract might be interesting in this context.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra in his *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, gives some drawings from the ancient sculptures of Orissa of the various forms of coiffure in vogue among Indian women more than twelve hundred years ago. Though they were 'thought the most attractive and elegant' at the time, some of them appear to us now to be very grotesque and fantastic as fashion is always changing, though it repeats itself at long intervals. It would be extremely difficult from the meagre description in the *R̥gveda* to give an adequate idea of the forms of coiffure fashionable among women in the Vedic age. For example, the word *kurīra* occurs in the wedding hymn of the *R̥gveda* (X. 85, 8) in connection with the description of the bride's adornment, and denotes "some sort of female head-ornament." According to Geldner, the word *Kurīrin* in the *Atharva-veda* (V. 31, 2) meant a crested animal, perhaps as Zimmer suggests, the 'peacock'. The word *kurīra*, therefore, probably meant a form of coiffure in which the hair was braided into erect crests. We find drawings in Dr. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans* (Vol. I, pp. 216, 217) of two figures of goddesses, in which the hair appears to have been braided and twisted into rays, and kept in an erect position by waxing and enclosing sticks or wire within them. A fringe of short hair covers the brow, and on it is placed a triangular tiara with a crest, in the other, "the rays are greatly multiplied and arranged in a double row, and the tiara is provided with three crests". In the "*Yajurveda Samhita*, the goddess *Sinivāli* is described by the epithets *Su-kaparda*, *Su-kurīra*, *Su-opaśa*, as wearing a beautiful headdress". (*Ved. Ind.* i. 164). *Surya* who was the daughter of the God *Surya*, had her hair done up into a *kurīra* or crest, and this was probably the fashion of bridal coiffure in *R̥gvedic* times. The diadem or tiara that was worn was called *tirita* (*AV.* viii. 6, 7). (See *R̥gvedic Culture* by A. C. Das, p. 219.)

MARRIAGE

Child Marriage. Marriage in the early Vedic texts appears as a natural one, with little of the rigidity and artificiality of the later Hindu forms. In the earlier Vedic period, the obligatory marriage of a girl, before a certain age, was unknown. Younger sisters might get married in advance while the elder still waited

47. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, pp. 216.

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for her chance. There are numerous references to unmarried young women (Amajur) staying on with their father,⁴⁸ and even growing old (or dying unmarried) in their paternal home was not unusual. This was not a dreaded fate in early Vedic thought, though an old maid was regarded as rather unfortunate, eliciting ironical remarks like Kulapa (or sitting along with the 'fathers') and maidens cursed their rivals in love with hated spinsterhood (AV. I-14-8). As the choice of a husband generally roused with herself,⁴⁹ it was not unlikely that failing to make any selection she remained unmarried. No girl was married before she had reached puberty.⁵⁰ She must be fully developed physically in her father's house (pitr-ṣadam vyaktām) before her marriage could be thought of (RV. X. 85-21 F). Suryā, the daughter of Suryā, was given away to Soma in marriage only when she became youthful, and yearned for a husband, "patyo śamasantīm" explained by Sayana as patim kāmāyamānām paryāpta yauvanām iti (TV. X. 85-7). (From a study of the Vedic marriage rituals it appears that the marriage had to be consummated at the earliest on the fourth night after the ceremony and therefore marriage was after puberty.)

Freedom of Marriage. The fact that there were regular domestic rites (with charms and magic potions) calculated to help in all the momentous stages of the progress of love affairs, and that even the guardians of maidens took part in some of them⁵¹ show that free-love encounters between young men and women before marriage was fully recognised in ordinary society. The Vedic festival gave good opportunities to pre-marital love. In the ritual of Mahavrata⁵² (a kind of popular spring festival) there was much of song and dance. Apart from such orgies there were mixed gatherings like the samanās.⁵³

The Samana⁵⁴ was a social institution which had the support of the entire society. People of both sexes and all ages flocked in

48. Cf. RV. II-17-7; X. 39. 3.

49. RV. X-27-12.

50. Vide Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 474.

51. Eq. Av. II. 36. VI. 60.

52. Vide the Mahavrata sections in Yv. Samhitas.

53. "Probably the 'Samana' was primarily a seasonal festival at the beginning of the Sama or summer which came to serve as the occasion for various social functions. Indrani (a sea goddess) was worshipped by women at the Samanās according to ancient custom". (RV. X-86-10).

54. RV. I-124-8; IV. 59-8; VI-75-4; VII-2-5; See Women in Rgveda by Uphadhyaya for details, p. 186.

large numbers to this gathering. Pischel quoted in the Vedic Index explains Samana as a general popular festivity to which women went to enjoy themselves....and sought there to find a husband "and courtesans also tried to gain by the occasion".⁵⁵ These mixed gatherings where the young people found their partners in life lessened the worry of the parents about finding a suitable match. Elders even encouraged maidens to go to Samanas and there are references to mothers decorating⁵⁶ their daughters for attending these gatherings with a view to matrimony. A lively Samana has been described by Kaegi thus—"Wives and maidens attire themselves in gay robes and set forth to the joyous feast, youths and girls hasten to the meadow when forest and field are clothed in fresh verdure, to take part in the dance. Cymbals sound, and seizing each other lads and damsels whirl about until the ground vibrates and clouds of dust envelop the gaily moving throng".⁵⁷ Even these ladies advanced in age who had failed to find a husband and perhaps also widows who cared to re-marry (RV. X-40. 2). attended these Samanas. The Samana was thus the centre of merriment and was held in progress all night by firelight and torches (RV. VII-9-4 f X-69-11). In such carnivals horse and chariot racing was common during the day time and trysts at nights.

The Samanas⁵⁸ served a great social need by bringing together at the nightly gatherings men and women and such social freedom was characteristic of the Vedic period when seclusion of women was unknown.

*Limitations on Marriage.*⁵⁹ In agreement with the generally free character of the Vedic marriage, is the absence of restrictions on marriage outside or within certain spheres. Sister marriage was apparently falling into disuse towards the close of the Rgvedic period as proved by the dialogue of Yama and Yami.

Even in the subsequent Brāhmaṇa period, restrictions on Sagotra and Sapinda marriages did not go beyond the third or fourth generation on either side, and first cousins through mother's

55. RV. IV. 58-8; VII. 2. 5.

56. RV. I-123-11.

57. I. A. Kaegi, *The Rgveda*, p. 19.

58. The Samanas later degenerated and led to moral laxities during the Buddhist age, when the Samajja, the counterpart of that institution was definitely prohibited by Asoka in his rock edict (No. 1 of fourteen rock edicts).

59. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 476.

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brother or father's sister, could marry among several sections of the people—marriage with a paternal uncle's daughter being more in use. The restrictions grew in the Sutra period.

There was not rigidity about inter-caste⁶⁰ marriages and we find from references that marriage between several varṇas were easier. The R̥gvedic priestly classes are often stated to have married into royal families like Cyavana⁶¹ etc., which later came to be called anuloma (a man of a higher caste marrying one of the lower). The Pratiloma marriage had also received its sanction in the R̥gveda and the marriage of Sasvati⁶² with Sage Aṅgūas is a case in point.

Wedding Ceremony. The wedding ceremony consisted of elaborate rites and commenced at the bride's house (RV. X-17-1) and lasted for several days. The bridegroom dressed gorgeously (RV. X-78. 7) with his friends and relations repaired to the house of the bride whom they were welcomed by the bridal party (RV. IV-58-9) AV. VI-60; XIV-2-59).

"The bridegroom having caused the bride to mount a stone, formally grasped her hand and led her round the household fire (cf. RV. X-85-36, 38). The mantras⁶³ that the bridegroom uttered to the bride were, 'So may prajāpati bring forth children to us, may Aryaman adorn us till old age comes nigh, not inauspicious enter thou thy husband's house; bring blessings to the bipeds and quadrupeds'. This leads one to conclude that she must have been old enough to understand their import. The festivities being over, the bridegroom takes the bride to his house⁶⁴ in a marriage pro-

60. The Atharva Veda glorifies the brahmin as the best husband for women of all classes (AV. 17-8-9).

61. RV. I-116-10; 117-13; 118-6; V. 74-5; VII-68-6.

62. RV. VIII-1-24.

63. (a) According to Margaret Cousins the mantras addressed by the bridegroom to the bride repeated to a child wife, are almost blasphemy, a mockery of the implied conditions of the understanding capacity and freedom of circumstances of both husband and wife (The Revolt of Asian Womanhood). (b) See also Law of Vedic Marriage by A. Mahadeva Sastri, pp. 9 ff.

64. "Further abundance and male offspring were prognosticated when she had been conducted to her husband's house, by seating her on the side of a red bull and placing upon her laps the son of a woman who had only borne living male children. The God most closely connected with the rite was agni, for the husband led his wife three times round the nuptial fire—when the Sanskrit name for wedding—parinaya—"leading round"—and the newly kindled domestic fire was to accompany the couple throughout life. Offerings are made to it and the Vedic formulas pronounced. After sunset

cession (RV. X-85-7, 8, 10, 22 ff) to the accompaniment of suitable stanzas.

There is little trace of any real parental control over such marriages and the custom of real parental control and sanction become a necessity only as child marriage came into practice later.

The episode of Śyāvāśva (RV. V-61-52; 81-8; VIII-35-38) who was rejected by Rathavītis queen as not an eligible bridegroom for her daughter was an exceptional case of parental interference. Vimada⁶⁵ the ṛṣi actually eloped with Kamadyu and was even commended for such a conduct.

The epic system of Svayamvara⁶⁶ had its origin in the Vedic custom of free choice.

Forms of Marriage. The usual type of marriage in the Vedic age was that based on mutual consent as the state of society revealed seems to point to considerable freedom on the part of both men and women in selecting wife or husband. Under exceptional circumstances, daughters have been given away according to arranged marriages⁶⁷ or by heavy payments (RV. I-109-2) (VIII-2-20) or conversely by the offer of dowry by the brother (RV. VI. 28-5) (X. 27-12) (AV. V-17-12) who was responsible for the settlement of his sister in life, especially when damsels suffered from bodily defects;⁶⁸ or bestowed as a gift for services rendered as in the case of Cyavana.⁶⁹ The sale of a daughter was not unknown⁷⁰ and occasionally marriages by capture also took place *as* when Vimada⁷¹ carried away Puruniti's daughter. These various types of marriages⁷² have been described in detail in the Epics.

the husband leads out his bride, and as he points to the polar star and the star Arundhati they exhort each other to be constant, and undivided for ever". These wedding ceremonies are still widely prevalent in the India of today. (A History of Sanskrit Literature by A. A. Macdonell, p. 254).

65. RV. I-112-9; X-39-7, 65-12.

66. When many Gods were aspirants for the hand of Surya, Sairta her father arranged for a svayamvara and the suitors had to prove their worth in a competitive race in which the Aśvins were victorious and won her. (RV. X-85-14).

67. "The marriage was frequently arranged through an intermediary". (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 482).

68. Cf. RV. VI-28-5; X-27-12; AV. V-17-12.

69. Jaiminya Prahmana, III. 122.

70. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 482 f.

71. RV. I-112-19; X. 39. 7.

72. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 483.

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*Monogamy and Polygamy.*⁷³ Monogamy was the rule in ancient R̥gvedic Society (RV. I-124-7, 3, 2, X-77-1, IV-3. 2. X-71-4 ff). But a Vedic Indian could have more than one wife (RV. I-62-11; IV-58-8; VII-18-2; X-43-1) though it was recognised that a plurality of wives never contributed to domestic happiness, and often made the life of the husband miserable (RV. I-105-8).

The circumstances of conquest and settlement, and consequent prosperity of the priesthood, must have made polygamy quite a common thing later. It must have been a relic of barbarous times, when women were captured, enslaved and married often against their will and when wives were regarded as chattels who could be staked at dicing, and over whose life and liberty husbands exercised supreme control. In the R̥gvedic texts, the female slaves are frequently presented to rsis by their patron princes (thus King Trasadaśyū (RV. VIII-19-36) bestowed fifty of them as vadhūs on Sobhari Kanva). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII-5-4. 27) knows of as many as four hundred "anucāris" and in the Āraṇyakas and Upanishads the king is attended by five hundred fair women who carried perfumed powders.

"Apart from the possession of slave girls, the princes had at least four principal wives recognised in regal ceremonials and rites"—the Mahiṣī,⁷⁴ the Parivr̥kti,⁷⁵ the Vāvāta⁷⁶ and Pālāgali.⁷⁷

73. A monogamistic tendency was always present (Cf. the use of 'patni' in the singular and the recognition of only one wife in ritual (patni) or at royal court (mahisz) and the persistence of this ideal is discernible through all the fluctuations of subsequent periods.

S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of Early Social History of India*, p. 85. ("The Vedic prince and his priest who could give and receive scores of slave girls as wives were no doubt living in an age of flourishing polygamy").

74. "The Mahiṣī appears to be the chief wife, being the first one married according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa"....."The names are curious, and not very intelligible, but the evidence points to the wife first wedded alone being a wife in the fullest sense. This view is supported by the fact emphasised by Delneck that in the sacrifice the Patni is usually mentioned in the singular, apparent exceptions being due to some mythological reason. Zimmer is of opinion that polygamy was dying out in the vedic period, monogamy being developed from polygamy. Weber however thinks that polygamy is secondard, a view that is supported by more recent anthropology" (Vide Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 478).

75. "The 'Parivr̥kti' 'the neglected' is explained by Weber and Pischel as one that had no son." (Vide Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 478).

76. "The Vāvāta is the favourite." (Vide Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 478).

77. "The Pālāgali is, according to Weber, the daughter of the last of the court officials." Vide Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 478). Vide *Some Aspects of the Early Social History of India*, by Sarkar, pp. 87-88).

Polyandry. The practice of polyandry is generally supposed to be unvedic, and absolutely clear instances are not found in the Vedic texts. The reference to Maruts having one wife (Bodasi) (RV. VI-167. 4 ff) may only be a metaphor. "Go ye heroes for away, ye bridegrooms with a "lovely spouse". 'The lovely spouse' Rodasi is lightening wedded to the Maruts who are the clouds.

This does not prove the prevalence of the custom of polyandry, and we may therefore conclude that the custom was very rare and that the matriarchal family was not in vogue in that age.

Wife and Duties. The dignity of the wife which was to survive in the mother (a member of unique importance) was recognised in the Vedic society. She was the very centre of the domestic world and called Sāmrāṅī at home (RV. X-85-46). She is described as Kalyāni (auspicious) and the most auspicious (Śivatma), bringing blessings to her husband's household.

The wife had to perform duties spiritual as well as secular. The duty of keeping the sacrificial fire ever kindled in the family hearth was the concern of the wife. It was the same fire which witnessed her wedding when she circumambulated it with her husband. Macdonell writes: "The taking of her hand, placed her in the power of the husband. The stone on which she stepped was to give her firmness. The seven steps which she took with her husband and the sacrifice inaugurate friendship and community."⁷⁸

The soma juice⁷⁹ had to be pressed out by both the husband and wife acting with one mind and one accord (yadampate samanasa).

The wife as grhapatnī controlled the household and had the entire charge of the members of the family, the servants, cattle and other animals. She had to look after the needs and comforts of the husband and also that of the parents-in-law and the rest of the family. She was an honourable dame and an active worker going to bed late and rising early.

The wife reached the climax of her power and importance when she became a mother (matr). The importance of the mother was in proportion to the number of male children. The usual number prayed for was ten.⁸⁰ Although the duties of the wife mainly per-

78. Macdonell. A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 254.

79. RV. VIII. 31-5.

80. RV. X-85. 45 ff.

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tained to the family and the hearth, she occasionally ventured out even to the battlefield, assisted in war, and even fought and fell in battles as in the case of Viśpala (RV. I-116-15).

Legal Status of Wife, etc. To the exact legal position of the wife, we have very few and meagre references. Though there are references to an unmarried daughter getting a share in the property (RV. II-17-7) the evidence with regard to the inheritance of the wife⁸¹ or the widow is negative. The R̥gveda does not indicate whether a share was reserved for the widow if she remained unmarried. There is no doubt that the husband had complete mastery over his wife and she was dependent on the husband to a great extent even at a time when a woman's place in social life was comparatively high. That she could also be staked as shown in the gambler's hymn (RV. X-34-24) is of course an abnormal and uncommon relic of a remote past and cannot be taken as an evidence showing its existence in the Vedic society.⁸²

Burning of Widows. The burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband may have been a custom among the Aryans in the early primitive stages of their civilization, for we find the custom of killing the widow or widows of a dead man and burying her or them with him still existing among barbarous tribes. The idea probably was that the dead man must have his wife's company in the next world to provide him with home-comforts. It was from a similar belief that an animal was sacrificed and foodgrains offered at the time of the funeral. The custom of burning widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands is clearly referred to in the Atharva Veda xviii. 3. i which contains much ancient history. The Atharvaveda (XVIII. 3. 1) refers first to the voluntary self immolation of the widow as her 'dharma' (ancient customary duty) but treats her 'lying down by the departed' as only a formal fulfilment of the old custom—this 'lying beside' being supposed to 'assign her progeny and property' by something like a legal fiction, the next verse makes this attainment of progeny and

81. Women like 'Sasiyasi (RV. V-61-10) used to distribute much wealth and presents but this was probably more a concession granted by the husband than any right.

82. "In India too in very early times women were regarded as chattel. They were given away as gifts in the Vedic age, as would appear from several hymns which glorify the gifts of generous donors".... The inference seems to be based on the description relating to the daughter of Svanaya (RV. I-126-3) when chariots full of vadhūs (vadhūmants) were given. This probably refers to female slaves who became legal wives without marriage.

property possible by transferring the widow as 'wife' to her *didhīṣu* who grasps the hand (raising and leading her away); the '*didhīṣu*' then expresses satisfaction at having saved 'a young woman' enclosed with blind darkness, and led about, living for the dead. Evidently widow burning was a defunct custom at this time, represented only by a ritual 'semblance' and positively prevented from being renewed in anyway by an immediate re-marriage. If the custom existed at the time of the composition of the Atharva Veda, it must have been a revival of an ancient barbarous custom. During R̥gvedic times it seems to have been absent.

The original text ran : *arohantu janayo yonim agre* (AV. XVIII. 3-57) (Let the mothers advance to the altar first). By a change of the word *agre* to *agneh*, the genitive of *agni* 'fire' it read as "let the mothers go into the womb of fire". Max Muller calls this celebrated change of the text "perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood".⁸³

The custom of *sutee* would therefore appear during the Vedic age to have been uncommon. At all times the practice seems to have been mainly confined to the families of the warrior class, to judge from the other Indo-Germanic parallels.

Widow Re-marriage. There is no evidence of widow re-marriage in the proper sense of the word, in the R̥gveda. But a custom seems to have existed, according to which a childless widow could live with her dead husband's brother (*Devr*) in order to produce children (RV. X-40-2). The custom is probably alluded to in a funeral hymn of the R̥gveda (RV. X-18-8), in which the widow is asked to get up from where she lay down beside the dead husband and return home. "Unwidowed dames married to noble husbands, adorned with fragrant balm and unguent, and with fair jewels, tearless, free from sorrow⁸⁴ then gathered before the blazing fire and proceeded to decorate the new widow for a new life."⁸⁵ In the funeral rite, the son of the widow was present to receive his father's bow (RV. X-18-9) and the '*didhīṣu*' (brother-in-law) who was also present claimed her as wife for progeny and property (AV. XVIII. 3. 2). It appears that the main concern in this rite was a normal re-marriage of the widow who oftener than not might have sons already. At the close of the R̥gvedic age this preferential

83. Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion 1881-1, p. 335.

84. RV. X-18. 3 ff.

85. Uphādya—Women in R̥gveda—p. 93.

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claim to the widow was not confined to the younger brother (as his elder's successor) but also belonged to an elder brother.

The Āśvalāyana school preserves apparently a much earlier Vedic tradition according to which these rights belonged not only to brothers but also to any other representative of the family (Asv. Gr. Sutra. IV-2-18). Thus in the Vedic society widows⁸⁶ of child bearing age did not normally remain unmarried for any length of time; (AV. XVIII. 3. 57; RV. X-18-17). The number of re-marriages⁸⁷ permissible is nowhere laid down. It is remarkable that in a passage intended to glorify the Brahman (AV. V-17-8, 9) he should be described as willing to be the best husband of a widow married many times.

Morality. The Vedic society was not free from the taints which are the outcome of a free, merry and chivalrous society and the terms *pumscaḥ* (AV. XV-2-1 ff) and *mahānagnī* (AV. XIV-1-36) presume the existence of prostitution. The free mixing of the sexes in the *samānaś* gave opportunities to the young men and women to develop strong friendships, which very often transgressed the limits of convention. Illegal unions and moral lapses were not uncommon. The love of the father and the daughter, as revealed in the myth of Prajapati,⁸⁸ is evidently censured, but the actual existence of this form of incest is presumed in the Atharva Veda.⁸⁹ Grave cases of immorality are alluded to in the R̥gveda where references to illegitimate offsprings are made (RV. I-30-6). The use of the terms like *Kumārīputra* (son of a maiden) and *Jāra*⁹⁰ (lover) proves the existence of unlawful types of people not permitted by society.

86. "When a woman has had one husband, and gets another, if they present the *aja pancandana* offering, they shall not be separated. A second husband dwells in the same world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the *pancandana*." (Muir: O.S.T.V. 306) (Dellnick thinks that "this very probably refers to a case in which the first husband was still alive but was impotent or had lost caste (*patita*). Nevertheless, the later Dharma Sutra began to recognise ordinary re-marriage in case of the death of the first husband.).

87. A woman could also re-marry on disappearance of the husband during his life time (RV. VI-49-8).

88. RV. X-61-57.

89. AV. VIII. 6. 7.

90. Prof. Sarkar remarks that it is presumed by a domestic ritual formula in the R̥gveda that every woman might have a *jāra*. This is perhaps an exaggerated statement as some higher idea of morality was in the course of formation for a dame free of all social blemishes was ever dear to her husband. "The ritual of Varuṇa *praghāśas* when a wife names her lover or lovers

Conclusion. In Vedic India, by far the greater part of a girl's life was taken up in her marriage and marital relations. Women enjoyed much liberty and there is no trace of the seclusion of women. The maiden may be assumed to have grown up in her marriage and marital relations. Women enjoyed much liberty and there is no trace of the seclusion of women. The maiden may be assumed to have grown up in her father's house, enjoying freedom and mingling freely with the youth of the village and sharing in the work of the house. She was not the meek mild creature of the later period, her rights and dignity were recognised. What we know from the Vedic literature is that girls like boys were given education, for we hear in the Upaniṣads, of women who could take an important part in the disputation on philosophical topics. Further, they were given a training in fine arts like music and dancing and at a ripe age the girl was married to a husband when she herself had chosen and shared with him who was her companion as well as her lord, on an equal footing, all his joys and sorrows. Widow marriage was allowed and the privileges enjoyed by woman were more than what they are today.

seems originally to have been a solemn means of banishing the evil brought on a family by a wife's fall; Yājñavalkya's famous saying (Sat. Brah. I-3-1. 21) that no one cares whether a wife is 'unchaste' (parah pumsā) or not is a mere mistranslation, the expression parah-pumsa really meaning "removed from the male persons" (vide Rgvedic Culture by A. C. Das, p. 258).

A Note on The Genesis of the War with Tippu in 1789

BY

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In his *Memoirs relative to the State of India* which Warren Hastings wrote during his return voyage to England in 1785, he thought it unlikely that Tippu would involve himself in a new war with the British Power soon after the last war, as he was "deprived of all his confederates, and these become his rivals; nor that whenever he shall have formed such a design he will suffer it to break out in petty broils with our borderers."

But Tippu, soon provoked a war with the Marathas; he attacked the fort of Nargund which was under a Brahmin Desai on the ground of arrears of tribute due from him. The Marathas were alarmed when Nargund and Kittur were conquered by Tippu and appealed to the Governor-General, Sir John Macpherson, for help under the terms of the Treaty of Salbai. But the latter, who was dominated by the urgings of non-intervention forced on him from above, replied that neither of the parties to the Treaty of Salbai should afford assistance to the enemies of the other, and further, the English were bound by the Treaty of Mangalore not to assist the enemies of Tippu. Thereupon the Poona Durbar applied to the Portuguese of Goa for a Treaty of Alliance, at which act Macpherson became apprehensive and posted Charles Malet as the British Resident at Poona. After desultory operations which dragged on through many months, the Marathas and Tippu made peace which restored the *status quo*. Tippu had been greatly suspicious of English designs and of the doings of Malet at Poona; and rumour had reached him of the working of the mind of Cornwallis who had written to Malet that a rupture with the Mysore Ruler was inevitable as the immediate repercussions of any war that might be declared by France. All these factors kept the atmosphere in a tense condition. Then there followed the settlement of the Guntur Circar with the Nizam, which also helped in increasing the prevailing tension. The contemporary historians, Mark Wilks, shrewdly observed that Cornwallis's Guntur settlement really went against

the spirit of non-intervention, while claiming to keep up to the letter of the order to observe it.

The actual and immediate cause of the outbreak of the war with Tippu was the Dutch sale, to the Raja of Travancore, of the fortresses of Ayacotta and Cranganore. In the few decisive months that intervened between the sale of the forts (July 29, 1789) and the actual beginning of the hostilities (late in December) Tippu's war preparations had been greatly intensified; and even before their sale was completed, he had begun heavy troop concentrations near the two forts. What exactly was the motive behind the Dutch sale of these two forts to Travancore is interesting on account of its close bearing on the outbreak of the war. Tippu was anathema in the eyes of every European Power in India, including the French who were regarded as his likely potential allies. As early as 1783, the French agent with the Sultan, Peveron de Morlat, wrote to a Portuguese official at Goa that Tippu would not long retain the great inheritance of his father and expressed the following words of warning: "As you adjoin his lands allow me to warn you that you have need of great caution to maintain a good intelligence with him." While Tippu was made much of in Paris diplomacy, he was hated and suspected by the French officials in India itself. Each party deceived the other. The French Governors fed Tippu on false tales of the great schemes of Louis XVI to help him; and Tippu, on his part, planned to use the French promises for whatever they might be worth in the Indian diplomatic currency. There is enough evidence to show that the servants of both the French King and the French Company in India had neither liking for, nor interest in cultivating Tippu's friendship, and it was with the utmost aversion that they had to arrange for the journey of his three ambassadors to Paris in 1788. The French Ministry was greatly embarrassed by the unwanted embassy; and the very ship which carried the ambassadors on their return voyage, carried also despatches advocating a policy of evacuation of the French settlements in India, on the conviction that any assertion of military power in India was found to be futile in the existing situation, and it would be better to concentrate all French military forces in the East on Mauritius, and in India merely trading stations should be maintained. The policy enunciated in the despatches was not however accompanied by orders for its implementation. The French Minister for Navy submitted in September 1788 a complete plan for the military evacuation of their Indian settlements, almost at the very moment when Tippu's ambassadors suggested to the captain of their

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ship, an occupation of Pondicherry by Tippu himself as the 'best possible solution of French difficulties.'

While the foregoing was the true picture of France's attitude to Tippu, the Dutch at Cochin had not a strong garrison to resist any attack from Tippu. The European complement of their garrison was small in proportion to the native levies; and the general discipline was very deplorable. Governor Van Angelbeck had, in his anxiety, pleaded in vain for direct shipments of silver and men from Batavia; and the shrewd mercantile body of Cochin Jews who were living under Dutch protection and were having identical trade interests with Europeans, clearly perceived the decay of the Dutch power on the Malabar Coast and the consequent encouragement that the Dutch position at Cochin offered for Tippu's aggression. Two of the Cochin Jews, Ephraim Cohen and Abraham Samuels, had gone into the interior to spy the situation and became convinced of Tippu's intensifying preparations for an attack on Cochin, which was all the most disastrous in view of the official English refusal to aid the Dutch against Tippu.

The Raja of Cochin was helpless under the heel of Tippu; but the position of the Ruler of Travancore was different. He had no love for the European traders; but he clearly perceived that very soon he would have to choose between two masters, the English on the one hand and Tippu on the other. He wrote, on the 10th of July 1789, to Governor Van Angelbeck at Cochin, that if Tippu should attack and capture Cochin as he was expected to do, himself and his dynasty would be placed wholly at the mercy of the English power, and be probably and quickly degraded to the status of the Raja of Tanjore, the Nawab of Arcot and "many" other princes now groaning under their yoke.¹ The Ruler of Travancore, the Dutch and the Cochin merchants whose interests were identical with those of the European traders of all nationalities in India, thus found themselves in the same boat. "They had", as has been well pointed out by Furber "need of each other," and out of that need was hatched "the clever scheme for thwarting Tippu by selling the outlying Dutch forts of Krangnore and Aykotta to the Raja whose territorial integrity had been guaranteed by the British in the Treaty of Mangalore of 1784."

A few days before the bargain for the sale of the fort was actually concluded, Samuel Abraham, another Jewish merchant of

1. Quoted from the letters received by the Dutch East India Company, Malabar, 1790: I Van Angelbeck to Althing, August 30, 1789, pp. 245-6 of H. Furber's *John Company at Work*.

Cochin, received secret information from the English commandant of a battalion stationed in a nearby place as to the report of a *havildar* who had been sent on a mission of espionage to observe the preparations made by Tippu at Coimbatore for his intended attack on Cochin. When this is observed in connection with the sale of the two forts within a few days, it is clearly seen that the Dutch at Cochin had obviously made a very clever bargain and thereby escaped from the peril of an immediate attack by Tippu.²

Naturally enough this very clever transaction, which Tippu could not foresee, outwitted him and forced him into directing all his warlike efforts into another channel different from the one he had planned. Lord Cornwallis had already informed Tippu, in August 1789, through the Madras Government, that any invasion of Travancore by him would be followed by an immediate declaration of war on their part. Travancore's occupation of Cranganore and Ayacotta which commanded the Travancore Lines was followed by violent diplomatic interchanges between Tippu and the Madras and Bengal Governments. While Cornwallis was moved from the very first by a concern for the 'pledged word of Britain' and the 'honour of the British name; the unscrupulous Madras Governor, John Hollond, was not so anxious for war, as he should have been in loyalty to the Governor-General. He was more aware than Cornwallis of what had really taken place at Cochin and realised that a declaration of war with Tippu would be immediately followed by a suspension of payments to the creditors of the Nawab of Arcot among whom he occupied a prominent place and that the Nawab's territories would be taken over by the British, thus shutting out the *tankah*-holders from their expected gains. For some time Hollond was "reluctant to allow himself to be hood-winked by the sale of the Dutch forts and temporised in a manner that brought on him the wrath of the Governor-General." Hollond was even

2. H. Furber: 'John Company at Work'—p. 246. In the eyes of the world, the Dutch had sold two useless forts to the raja for three lakhs of rupees, but the truth was far otherwise. No cash whatever changed hands. The raja merely promised to supply two and a half lakhs' worth of pepper to the Dutch within four years. As for the other 50,000 rupees David Rhabbi, Ephraim Cohen and Anda Setty gave surety for half, and Anda Setty, who was probably an Armenian, provided the other half on the raja's bond. Since Van Angelbeck and his council had borrowed exactly 50,000 rupees from Jewish and Indian merchants a year earlier, there is a strong suspicion that not a single silver rupee found its way into the Dutch Company's treasury at Cochin on July 28, 1789. The Cochin Council had resolved in August 1788 to borrow Rs. 50,000, owing to their lack of cash.

suspected of having probably taken a bribe from Tippu, when he delayed preparations and tried to persuade Cornwallis that they were unnecessary. Deceived as to the temper and intentions of the British by the vacillation of Governor Hollond, Tippu decided to launch an open attack on the Travancore Lines in the last days of December 1789 and soon found himself at war with the British and soon afterwards with their allies. News of the outbreak of the Revolution in France in July-August 1789, made Cornwallis more determined than before to make Tippu's attack on Travancore a *casus belli*.

The Dutch were the only party who escaped wholly unscathed in this crisis ; and they did not lose Cochin as they feared. The Jews and other merchants of different European nationalities, including British traders who controlled the country trade with the countries across the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea were also greatly benefited, along with the Dutch, as they shared in the highly profitable sale of the military supplies and goods which quickly arrived from Batavia and elsewhere. The one party who really lost was the Ruler of Travancore. The situation, which faced him after the war was over, is thus explained by the Portuguese Governor-General, Da Cunha Menezes :³ "The English make a monopoly (of pepper) from Mount Deli to Cape Cormorin, wishing to claim for themselves in the first place all the produce from which the King (of Travancore) derives any profit. . . . The said English fearing that they will not get from the said King as large a quantity as they desire, have provided themselves with certain light war vessels which go round the ports of this kingdom every day in order to terrorize over the said king so that they alone and no other nation can obtain pepper. . . . In spite of this however, I think that if the merchants of Lisbon intend to buy any, they may be able to do so in Tellicherry from the English themselves, for I am informed that it is sold there in secret."

The war was, soon after its declaration, hailed by every European, English and other, as it widened their opportunities for profit-making ; and as James Mill has observed, the huge sums spent on the operations did not produce any commensurate returns. The territories got by the English as their share were not enough to pay the interest charges on the cost of the war. This was the burden of the first act of regulated British Imperialism in India.

3. Quoted by Furber from the Portuguese transactions, Vol. III, Part II, March 14, 1793.

Āntu and Etirāntu in Inscriptions

BY

K. N. DANIEL

Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastry, B.A., has advanced a position to the effect that the *etirāntu* (= year opposite to) found in inscriptions denotes a break in the reign of that king—he was deprived of his throne by an enemy (See “The Interpretation of the Double Dates Āṇḍu and Edirāṇḍu in the Regnal years of certain Chola Pandya and other Kings”: a reprint from the Journal of Sri Venkatasvara Oriental Institute). This theory is quite untenable.

1. If *āntu* 2, and *Etirāntu* 9 (= 2nd year, and 9th year opposite to the 2nd year) are given in the inscription of a king, we must conclude, according to Mr. Sastry, that the king was driven away from his throne in his ninth year, *etirāntu*. Is it reasonable to suppose that the kings would be very particular about commemorating their shame—their defeat? Rajaraja III. has recorded a dethronement and reinstatement of his “at the instance of two military officers.....in the service of the Hoysala King”, who reinstated him as Mr. Sastry says (p. 13). This does not affect the above argument of mine.

2. In the following twenty-two inscriptions the year 2 is given with *etirāntus*:

2-14 of Rajasimhavarman (Sastry, p. 12).

2-4 of Parkara Iravi (*Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 180).

2-13 “ (“ II, 39)

2-12 “ (“ II, 34)

2-31 “ (“ II, 44)

2-6-35 “ (“ II, 31)

2-29 “ (“ II, 43)

2-11 “ (“ II, 39)

2-24 “ (“ II, 40)

2-36, Parkara Iravi (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, XIII, p. 136).

2-8 of Kulasekhara Koyilatikari (T.A.S., V, p. 38)

2-8, Irayar (“ VIII, p. 42)

2-32, Arikesarideva (“ I, p. 278)

2-23, Parakramapantiyadeva	(T.A.S., I, p. 254)
2-31 "	(" " p. 255)
2-5 "	(" " p. 257)
2-9 "	(" " p. 262)
2-3, Srivallabha	(" " p. 263)
2-12, Karunandadakkar	(" p. 14)
2-20 "	(" p. 15)
2-32, Maravarman	(" p. 253)
2-11, Ramatiruvady	(" V, p. 44)

Why were all these kings anxious to make inscriptions exactly two years after every one of their disasters ?

3. According to this theory we shall have to believe that Parkara Iravi I, was deprived of his throne eight times, in his 2nd, 4th, 11th, 12th, 24th, 31st, 36th and 46th years of his reign (T.A.S. II, p. 47, III, p. 180, II, pp. 39, 34, 40, 44, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, XIII, p. 136, Ind. Ant. XX, p. 290), and Parkara Iravi II, was deposed six times, in his 1st, 6th, 7th, 13th, 29th and 35th years of his reign (T.A.S., II, pp. 46, 31, 36, 39, 43, 31).

Parakramapantiyadeva, we are asked to believe, was deposed four times in his 5th, 9th, 23rd and 31st years (T.A.S., I, pp. 257, 262, 254, 255). In short almost all kings, whose inscriptions we have, were deposed once or more than once according to this theory; we find very few inscriptions in which there is no *etirāṇṭu*.

4. The year 2 is found as *etirāṇṭu* with 41 in the inscription of Parkara Iravi Senior, and 1 as *etirāṇṭu* with 48 in that of the Junior (T.A.S., II, pp. 47, 46). Is it reasonable to think that the deposition of the 2nd year was recorded after 41 years, after recording six later ones, 4th, 11th, 12th, 24th, 31st, 36th; and that of the 1st year, after 48 years, after recording five later ones, 6th, 7th, 13th, 29th, 35th? If by *etirāṇṭu*, the year of dethronement were indicated, the Senior would have recorded his disaster of the 2nd year and the Junior his disaster of the 1st year before any other later disaster. It is, therefore, evident that the *etirāṇṭu* does not indicate a break.

5. Instead of giving a certain figure, it is a poetical method to give it as the sum of two or three figures; Kollam tollāyirattōṭirupatumirupattārumēvañca pattum chērnṇāṭunnōru kālē. "The year of Quilon, which is 900 + 20 + 26 + 10". We find this method in a large number of poems, and in inscriptions.

That this is only a poetic method of mentioning the date is evident from the Tenkasi Pillar inscription of Arikesari, lines 50-57. *Iranṭāvatīn etir irupattiranṭāvatu vaikāchi mātam tuṭanki muppat-tonṭāvatīn etir onpatāvatu vare patiṇēlu varshattukkuḷḷa tiruppaṇi cheyṭu niraṇvērriṇa itu māṇuṣhamalla daivikameṇṇu ellāvarumaṇintukollavum.* "Within 17 years from Vaikāchi in the year $2 + 22$ to the year $31 + 9$, this work was completed. Let all people know that this was not human, but divine" (T.A.S., I, pp. 100, 101).

6. Mr. Sastry himself has given two other cases which support my position. "As regards the regnal year of the king", he says, "the date 'is not only specified in Tamil in date c, but every detail of it is repeated in Sanskrit in date B, with the only difference that here the year is the 25th of Rajagāmbiradeva, while in c, it is the 12th year opposite to the 13th of Kulasekharadeva.' It, therefore, follows that where two dates are furnished in the inscriptions in relation to the regnal year of the king as *patimmūṇṭāvatīn etir panniranṭām āṇṭu*, i.e., the 12th year opposite to the 13th year, as in this case, the period of reign has to be counted as 25 years by adding the two figures 13 and 12. This principle is also indicated in the larger Sinnamannur plates of Rajasimhavarman, the Pantiya king, who granted the village of.....' in the 14th opposite to the 2nd year of his reign,' according to the Tamil portion of the grant, which the Sanskrit portion of the grant equates with.....16th regnal year" (p. 12).

7. "It, therefore, follows", Mr. Sastry admits, "that where two dates as furnished in the inscriptions..... the period of reign has to be counted..... by adding the two figures". If an interregnum were indicated by *etirāṇṭu*, the two figures and the period of interregnum must be added—if the latter is not known there is no use of adding the given figures. In the case of the two inscriptions which Mr. Sastry mentions, the year of the inscription was found to be the sum of the two figures *āṇṭu* and *etirāṇṭu*—there was no interregnum in either of them. Similarly in the inscription of Arikesari it was 17 years from Vaikāchi of the year $2 + 22$ (*āṇṭu* and *etirāṇṭu*) to the year $31 + 9$. Were there interregnums after the *etirāṇṭus*, 9th and 22nd years, no calculation would have been possible.

Let us examine Mr. Sastry's evidence. "The proper clue to the interpretation of this double date expressed for the regnal years of certain Chola and Pandya kings in some of their records is furnished by the Tiruvendipuram inscription of the 16th year of the reign of Rajaraja III" (p. 12). This document says that Rajaraja III

was imprisoned by an enemy, and was released by a friend and reinstated in his throne, but it does not tell us when he was imprisoned, when reinstated. "Rightly viewed in conjunction with the events recorded in the inscription," Mr. Sastry says, "its date, viz., 'the year which was opposite to the 15th year, points out that Rajaraja III had almost completed 15 years of his reign as Chola emperor on the Chola throne and that in the year following the 15th year, he was 'captured' by the Kāḍava Kopperuñjinga and imprisoned at Sendamangalam, and thereby, *deprived of his throne* for a time until 'liberated' from the prison and reinstated by the Hoysala generals during the course of the 16th year; that is to say, the date of the inscription ought to have been given plainly as the 16th year of the king, as is generally done in the case of inscriptions of all kings, and not as the current year opposite to the 15th year of the reign of Rajarajadeva. The significance of the double figure, $15 + 1$, of the date is plainly explained in the inscription itself that Rajaraja was captured and imprisoned for a time, that he was consequently *kept out of his throne* during that period, that he was subsequently liberated by the Hoysala generals from imprisonment and henceforward he continued to reign as the Chola emperor; and accordingly there was a pause, a cessation, of his rule, for some time between the 15th and the 16th years" (p. 14). "The date of the inscription ought to have been given plainly as the 16th year of the king as is generally done in the case of inscriptions of all kings, and not as the current year opposite to the 15th". Inscriptions very rarely give the year "plainly", but in two or three figures, *āntus* and *etirāntus*. "Current year opposite to" (*Chellānirfayāntaik ketir*) also is found in inscriptions (Ind. Antiquary, XX, p. 290, Trav. Arch. Series, II, p. 45), as well as "year two opposite to" (*iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikketir*); also one as well as two is used as *etirāntu—nālppattēṇṇāmāṇṭaikketirāmāṇṭu, māṇṭin etirāmāṇṭu* (Trav. Arch. Series, II, p. 46, VIII, p. 37). It is therefore evident that the 16th year inscription which speaks of the imprisonment and release of the king does not warrant us to conclude that the imprisonment took place in the 15th year of the king simply because sixteen is indicated by $1 + 15$.

Curiously enough, Mr. Sastry says quite plainly that the disaster took place in the year of the inscription, not during the *etirāntu*. "They (breaks) occurred for the first time during the 7th (6 + 1st) year of his reign" (p. 19), not during the *etirāntu*, 6th year. While speaking about the "inscription of the 16th year of the reign of Rajaraja III", Mr. Sastry says that the disaster mentioned in the inscription "happened in the year which was opposite

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to the 15th year of the emperor" (p. 13) i.e. in the 16th (15 + 1) year, not in the *etirān̐tu* 15th. Again "The three occasions of interregnum.....occurred during his 7th (A.D. 1222-23) 16th (1231-32) years" (p. 20), not during the *etirān̐tus*, 6th and 15th.

And again :—"The last interregnum in the 30th and last regnal year of Rajaraja III" (p. 22), not in the *etirān̐tu* 29th.

From his unwarranted conclusion, which he himself opposes in the above statements, he goes on to argue that there were "eleven periods of interregnum during his reign of 30 years", because there are eleven inscriptions of this king which give eleven figures with the words "current year opposite to" (*Chellānin̐rayān̐taikketir*).

Mr. Sastry says :—"Numerous breaks in the reign of Rajaraja III from the 7th year onwards to the 30th and last year are revealed by a large number of his inscriptions which indicate them by furnishing the double date of the regnal years by mentioning the *ān̐du* and the *edirān̐du*. They occurred for the first time during the 7th (6 + 1st) year of his reign, then in the 8th (7 + 1st) year, 9th (8 + 1st) year, 11th (10 + 1st) year, 12th (11 + 1st) year, 16th (15 + 1st) year, 17th (16 + 1st) year, 23rd (22 + 1st) year, 25th (24 + 1st) year, 26th (25 + 1st) year, and 30th (29 + 1st) year, so much so that at least eleven periods of interregnum during his reign of thirty years are brought to light" (pp. 19, 20).

The fact, that there are numerous figures with the words "current year opposite to" are found in inscriptions, ought to have opened his eyes to see that it was only a form.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri in his interpretation of the Double Dates, reviewed in Vol. XXVI, Part I, pages 92-95 of the J. I. H., Andu and Edir Andu, interprets the meaning of the double dates found in some of the inscriptions, as referring to a break in the regnal period of a particular king and his subsequent reinstatement. He has also tried to substantiate his view-point after a close and careful analysis of the epigraphs. Mr. K. N. Daniel says that such recording of dates was the result of mere convention, and quotes a line which reads கொல்லம் தொள்ளாயிரத்தோடிருபது மிருபத்தாறு மேவம்ச பத்தும் to show that dates were sometimes written thus for the sake of metre.

The Origin of Writing in India

BY

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According to the Indian traditions the writing might have been indigenous origin. There is another school of scholars who believe that it might have been imported from the outside. This was not a new problem before the scholars. Whenever this origin of writing was considered in the past, people were concerning only with the historic scripts. But even now the scripts of Mohenjodaro and Harappa are isolated. There are several other views about its origin.

Cunningham propounded a theory, by which he has tried to prove that the oldest Indian script, that is Brahmi, is of indigenous origin. According to him, it was derived from some Indian picture writing. But it was a mere suggestion. He was not able to offer any positive prove in his favour. The Brahmi inscriptions which we find in the Asokan Inscriptions are fully developed. They must have taken some time to develop so much.

Weber, another westerner derives Brahmi alphabet from the Phoenecian script. This view was accepted and further developed by Buhler. Taylor believes that Brahmi was derived from the South Semitic script. According to W. Decke, Brahmi was derived from the Assyrian writing known as cunieform script through ancient southern script.

Halevy believes that Brahmi is a mixed derivation. He derives some letter from Aramic, some from Kharosthi and some from Greek. He has dated this derivation as 325 B.C.

When we try to prove anything borrowing, we must try to answer the following: (1) The country which borrows something from another country must have some connection with that country, (2) for the object borrowed there should not have any traces in the old national tradition of the country before that period, and lastly, (3) if there are any changes or variations between original

and borrowed, those changes must be explained according to certain fixed laws.

Halevy's theory is absurd. We do not find any connection between India and the Aramic country. He find that the script was so much developed that it must have taken a long period before the date of the founder of the Maurya Empire. We do not find very much in the Kharoṣṭhi script which will prove its close relation from the Brahmi script.

Decke's theory has also not much substance.

Taylor's theory of southern Semitic and Buhler's theory of Northern Semitic—For the Southern theory we have got some facts. (1) Certainly there is some sort of general resemblance between Southern characters and the Brahmi script. Secondly some two or three scripts come very close to the Brahmi. Thus we find that there is something in his hypothesis. But we have got some difficulties in his hypothesis. Firstly, many of the identifications of Taylor are incorrect at the very sight. Secondly, he has taken for comparison either late or secondary characters of Brahmi, whereas he should have compared the earliest and most representative form of Brahmi. Thirdly, there are phonetic considerations that militate against such view e.g. Taylor derives Brahmic 'Ka' from Semitic 'Quoph'. Similarly he derives 'Ja, Śa, Sa, Ṣa' from the letter 'Shin'; 'Ya, Va' from Vāva; 'Ra' from 'Lamed' and equates Brahmi 'La' from 'Resh'. He has considered them only in the respect of their appearances and has not cared about their phonetics. Therefore, this derivation of Taylor does not seem to be sound. Moreover, the exact Southern Semitic of Taylor is an unknown factor. We have not been able to trace any Southern Semitic Inscription even as old as Brahmi Inscriptions of Aśoka. All Southern Semitic Inscriptions are of later date. Taylor believes that there were some early Southern Semitic Inscriptions which have been lost. Let us wait till those inscriptions are discovered, to consider the hypothesis of Taylor as sound.

As said above Buhler derives Brahmi from the Northern Semitic. This theory had got some weight before the scholars for a considerable long period. He has derived twenty-two letters from the Semitic characters. While considering any of the Buhler's theory about the origin of writing, we should keep in mind that only one letter 'Ga' can be regarded as identical. He has given to only ten letters as intermediate forms and out of the rest only

five letters derivation is probable. It is unquestionable that the Kharoṣṭhi script is derived from the Northern Semitic. In the case of the Kharoṣṭhi script there are certain striking facts which deserves our greatest attention. Eight Kharoṣṭhi letters are identical viz. 'Ca; Da, Pa, Na, Ba, Ra, Va, Śa'. Nine other letters can be probably derived from Northern Semitic viz. 'Ka, Kha, Ga, Ja, Ma, Ya, La, Śa, Ha'. We are not forced to assume any of the intermediate forms as Buhler has to determine in Brahmi.

The objections which have been brought against this theory are: (1) Professor Taraporewala is the first scholar who criticises Buhler. He says that how is it possible that the same people almost living in the same period, speaking the same language for the same purpose derives two types of script from the same source. This does not seem to him to be logical. (2) The other serious objections are based on phonetics. We do not understand how a scholar like Buhler has committed such a great blunder. His derivation of vowels—the letter 'A' in Kharoṣṭhi is derived from Semitic Alaph. But in the case of Brahmi, Buhler derives it from 'Ain'. 'E' is also derived from 'Ain'. Similarly his derivations of several consonents from the point of phonetics are untenable, e.g. he derives 'Ṭa' and 'Da' which are unaspirated from 'Tha', and 'Dha' while the corresponding Semitic sound 'Teh' and 'Daleh' are both unaspirates. 'Gha' is derived from *Cheth* which was aspirant in the Semitic, having the sound 'Ísa'. 'Śa' 'Sa', 'Ṣa' are derived from the same letter Sameh. Considering the above, we come to the conclusion that the derivation of Buhler is not satisfactory. Apart from these we find that the orders or arrangements of letters in Brahmi is entirely different from that of the Semitic. Brahmi letters have got a different numerical value from the Semitic characters.

Thus we find that none of the theories propounded by the scholars, of the foreign origin seems to be correct. The theories of Cunningham, Bhandarkar and others about the indigenous origin is worth for consideration. When Cunningham put forward his theory, it was not accepted by the most of the scholars at that time because we have not got much materials at our disposal. Recent excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have thrown new light on it. Professor Langdou is of the opinion that Brahmi is the survival of the old pictographic script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. He believes that many of the Brahmi alphabets can be

traced to the script of the Indus Valley Civilization. Moreover he believes that many of the characters of these places have got accents as that of the Brahmi, i.e. most of the signs have syllabic. The Mohenjodaro writing have phonetics just like that of Brahmi. There are certain signs which suggest the *Visarga* of Sanskrit, says Professor Langdou. Therefore, Brahmi is the survival of this pictographic writing.

Misconceptions about the Vedas

BY

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I have shown in my previous article that the Vedas are contemporaneous. In this article I will deal with the arguments of the European historians. (Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 142).

European scholars assert that the Aryans were not the inhabitants of India but came here from Persia—the Rigveda was compiled when they had come to the Punjab and that period is known as the Vedic among historians,—their contention is that they could mention in the Rigveda only those things and places which they knew at that time and could not mention others owing to ignorance. This theory just now holds the field—take the case of the ocean first. They argue that as those people did not know the ocean there is no mention of the ocean in the Rigveda—fish also is not mentioned among articles of food. They also could not mention in the Rigveda tigers, rice, elephants, figs and the geography of places beyond the Punjab owing to ignorance. Later when they reached Bengal they became acquainted with these and mentioned them in other Vedas. This is the theory which is being universally taught to students of ancient Indian history in the Universities. Now it is worth consideration that if according to the views of Europeans the Vedas are only the songs of shepherds and are merely their ravings, such books cannot be accepted as authorities in civilised society. It would then be only courting ridicule in learned circles to base any theories on them.

If there is anything in them, what is it? On mature thought it will be found that the Vedas were the all in all of the Hindus in Sanskrit Literature. That there must have been some peerless thing in them will be apparent from reading the Vedas. They have been, are and will be the means of attaining salvation and paradise for the Aryans.

There are two parts in the Vedas. The first, Karmakanda, deals with religious ceremonials and the second, Gyanakanda, with divine knowledge. The ceremonial part deals with yagyas and the

other part with the knowledge of the soul. The Karmakanda teaches how to fulfil human desires by means of yagyas with the help of the gods. By means of yagyas man can attain desires of this world and the next and in the end can gain the pleasures of paradise.

The second part, Gyanakanda, says that this world is an illusion and man should shun worldly desires and gain knowledge of the soul and thus attain true self-rule or salvation.

The Vedas make no mention of our coming from outside or otherwise—they do not also describe the geography of any province. Words used in offering prayers to the gods at some places give a glimpse of geography, etc. Therefore, the words used in them only prove that the Aryans knew those words but they do not at all prove that they did not know other words. If the Vedas had been dealing with geography the absence of those words would have certainly proved their ignorance of them.

If we were to accept this contention of the European scholars, we would also have to admit that there was no system of Vice-Chancellors or Deans in the Lucknow University in 1940 because a teacher of that University writing a book on politics or economics at that time did not mention these officials in his work. It would be arguing like this—If there had been the system of Vice-Chancellors and Deans the writer must have known of it; if he had known it he must have mentioned it in his book. But as he has not done so, the system had not come into existence till then. Can such a ridiculous argument be accepted? A writer can be said to be ignorant of any matter only when he fails to mention it in a book dealing with such matter—irrelevant matters are not expected to be mentioned in any book.

In these circumstances, mention of the ocean being irrelevant is unnecessary in a book dealing with yagyas and knowledge of the soul. Their failure to describe unnecessary and irrelevant things can never prove their ignorance of them—so the words not used in the Vedas cannot prove the theory of the Europeans.

(I will, however, deal with many words mentioned by the Europeans in a future article concerning the geographical aspect of the question.)

The Substance of Rāmānuja's Śrī Bhāshyam

(Continued from Page 195 of Part II, Vol. XXVI)

BY

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IX

In the first six pādas the Brahma-Sūtras have shown that the Parabrahman, and the Parabrahman alone, is the Cause of All That Is. Having spoken of the Cause (Kāraṇa) they now proceed to speak of the Effect (Kārya), and to show that it is nothing short of the entire Jagat. The whole of the created world may be classified into the categories of Substance and Non-Substance. Of the substances Ākāśa or ether is one. It is the contention of the Naiyāyika, who happens to be the dialectical objector at this stage, that Ākāśa is an eternal substance; but Ākāśa like any other substance is understood to be part of the Jagat. How could we maintain that the *entire* Jagat (including Ākāśa) was created or brought into being by the Parabrahman? It is impossible for that which is eternal to be considered as created. The Vedas say that the Supreme Lord created the whole Jagat, and the Vedas would not reveal that which is impossible. Ākāśa, like the Ātman, is all-pervading, without parts and without limbs. The Ātman has no beginning in time; likewise must Ākāśa be without any beginning. In the Chāndogya Upanishad, where the substances of fire, earth, water etc. are stated to have issued from the Supreme Creator, there is no reference to Ākāśa as one of the created substances. Hence Ākāśa must be taken as eternal, and the Lord could not have created it.

"Astitū" (2:3:2) is the Sūtra in which is condensed the reply to the fore-going pūrva-pakṣa. The Śrūtis revealing what is admittedly unknowable through inference or sense-perception, assert that Ākāśa has issued from the Ātman. "Ātmanākāśassambhūtaḥ". On the question of the origin of Ākāśa neither sense-perception nor inference is competent to throw any light. The Śrūtis alone are our guide, and their meaning is clear. As for the

analogical reference to the Ātman it is necessary to note that the eternal nature of the Ātman is not due to the fact that it is indivisible or all-pervading. We shall have occasion to explain its eternal nature on different grounds altogether. The reference to the other substances such as air, fire and water also fails to fulfil the purpose, for which it is made. Are fire, water and air direct creations of the Parabrahman? Or is there a chain of causation, linking each in the series with its own effect? The relevant Upanishadic texts are taken up for consideration in the section known as the Tejodhikaranam, and a likely misinterpretation is mentioned only to be ruled out. The Vākyas seem to mean that out of Vāyu came Agni, from Agni came Ap, and from Ap did Prithvi issue. Vyāsa points out that their real meaning is different, and Rāmānuja explains the position in accordance with the Śareera-Śareeri relation between the Lord and Jagat. From the Paramātmān, who has Vāyu as part of His Śareera has come into being Tejas, and from the same Paramātmān, who has Tejas also as His Śareera, has Ap issued, and so on.

The question whether the Jivātman has had a beginning in time is then taken up. The dialectical objector says that in view of the following arguments the Jivātman must be understood to have had a beginning: (1) In the Chāndogya Upanishad it is revealed that by knowing the Brahman we know everything. It is while elucidating this assertion to Śvetaketu that the illustration of clay as the one material cause of several articles of ordinary use is cited. Knowledge of the one cause implies knowledge of all its effects. If we knew the Brahman we would have known the Jagat in its entirety. Does not Jagat include the Ātman? The Ātman is part of the world of creation, whose Cause is no less than the Lord, the Parabrahman. The Ātman is thus a result of creation, which means that it has a beginning. (2) The Upanishads say that prior to the creation of the Jagat there was only the Solitary One. If the Jivātman were eternal and had no beginning it would imply its existence in the past, the present and the future, which falsifies the sacred textual expression, "Ekam", meaning the "One". (3) Finally there are Śrutis that express in positive terms that the Jivātmas were all created at a particular point of time.

The above pūrva-paksha is answered by Vyāsa in his Sūtra, "Nātmāśruternityatvāḡa tābhyah". (2 : 3 : 17). The Ātman has no utpatti or origin; it is not a product or effect brought into being at some point of time. We cannot speak of its association with any

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"first moment", for that would imply its non-existence prior to a certain moment. The Śrutis themselves clearly testify to the eternal character of the Ātman, its "nityatvam". Says the Kathopanishad, to those who have neither beginning nor end, who are many in number and sentient in nature, the Supreme Lord, who is also eternal, but who differs from them in being One and Omniscient, grants what they desire. (Nityonityānām cetanaścetanānām eko bahūnām yo vidadhāti kāmān). This reveals the Jivātman as an eternal entity beyond all doubt. The equally authentic Śruti of the Chāndogya Upanishad mentioned above could also be interpreted without the slightest loss of emphasis. An effect is not, and need not be, an entirely new existence. It differs from its cause in respect of its avastha or state. The clay becomes the pot, and the pot when broken becomes bits of clay again. Substantially it is the same throughout, yet each has its own distinct state. So far as the Jivātman is concerned, its latent unexpressed condition of jñāna prior to creation is different from its manifest expression after creation. Creation is a transformation from a dormant and unexpressed state of unity to one of differentiated manifestation. The Ātman is created in the sense that it comes into its own as a sentient being, not in the sense that it was brought into existence out of nothing. The expression "Ekam" does not connote a bare, contentless, attribute-less being. Just as a lump of salt dissolved in water has no independent existence apart from the water, in which it lies hidden, the whole Jagat in the state of pralaya lies dissolved in the Parabrahman without name or form, and we may well speak of it as "Ekam" or one. The Śrutis that speak of an origin or utpatti for the Jivātmas at some specific point of time intend to convey that the "birth" of the Ātman consists in its association with Śareera or body. Being born is taking on a body.

The Ātman has, therefore, no utpatti as substances like Ākāśa have. It is eternal, though considering the difference in its state of being before and after the creation of the Jagat as a whole, it may also be viewed as part of the world of creation.

Another special characteristic of the Āman is that it is both of the form of jñāna by itself and an abode of jñāna. It is jñāna in form or rūpa, while it also possesses the attribute of jñāna. From one point of view it is jñāna, and from another it has the attribute of jñāna. For the Buddhists the former alone is true; the Ātman is jñāna. For the Naiyāyikas the Ātman is an inert, inorganic substance, which in response to some adventitious influence comes to acquire jñāna as a temporary quality or attribute. Rāmānuja holds that the truth lies in both these points of view,

and the Śrutis furnish adequate grounds for the inference that the Ātman is not only of the form of jñāna, but that it also possesses jñāna as an attribute. The point of this contention would become evident if we consider the experience of the Ātman, both in sleep and in waking consciousness. During sleep the Ātman is aware of itself and nothing else. Hence we may say that it is of the form of jñāna. During waking moments he is aware of himself as a knower of several other objects, and this shows that he has the attribute of jñāna.

The Naiyāyika contends that the Ātman is all-pervading, but Rāmānuja thinks that this is contrary to Vyāsa's exposition of the nature of the soul, as the Upanishads reveal it. It is the Paramātmā that is all-pervading; the Jivātman is an atom or a monad; but the latter cannot sustain itself apart from or independent of the former. The Śāstras say that the Jivātman "leaves" the bodily residence, "goes" to other realms, "experiences" pleasure or pain under appropriate conditions of karma, and "returns" to the mundane sphere to "inhabit" another body. These functions cannot be fulfilled by one who is all-pervading or omnipresent, for they involve movement and presuppose subjection to spatial limitations. Indeed, the Upanishads clearly speak of the Ātman as atomic or monadic, leaving little room for doubt in the matter.

The Ātman is a doer (kartā). He is the experiencing subject, and the fruit of action goes to him. He is not only one, who enjoys or suffers, but also one who acts. The capacity for action (kṛtṛtvam) is a gift from God, and it includes the ability to do as well as to refrain from doing a thing (pravṛtti and nivṛtti). When the Ātman was totally devoid of such attributes, the Lord endowed him with these, and further gave him light and leading in the form of Śāstras or codes of conduct. With the faculties of perception, understanding and volition the Ātman acts and experiences the fruit of his actions. This is not by any means to detract from the importance or supremacy of the Lord's will, contrary to which not even the tiniest blade of grass can move, for ultimately He is the one "doer", and He gets everything done as He pleases (kartā kārayitāca sah). But if the Lord is the real agent or kartā, is it not He that must reap the fruit of His own deeds? How does it happen that the Jiva is made to suffer or enjoy in consequence of what the Lord does? The reply is that in every action there are several stages forming a series of simple steps leading to a consummation, and in the initial stage of each action the Lord remains

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an impartial and indifferent spectator, leaving the Jivātman to take his own decision and start the series. The first step of every action is on the Jivātman's own initiative, and appropriately enough he reaps the fruit of what he has sown, though the Lord remains the ultimate cause of all that happens. The jiva's experience of pleasure and pain is determined by the way in which his ability to act is directed. His first volitional step is the immediate or proximate cause of his action, while the Lord is the ultimate cause. The Lord's consent or approval is no doubt necessary for the progress and completion of any act, but that does not make Him carry the sole responsibility of the act or subject Him to the consequences of karma.

In our understanding of the nature of the Jivātman the following five alternative interpretations require to be remembered: (1) The lord-liege relation between the Paramātman and the Jivātman has sometimes been misunderstood to mean that the Jivātman has not only a distinct but also an independent existence apart from the Paramātman. This is not, however, in agreement with the texts. The analogy of the master-servant relation does not fully bring out the important Sastraic truth that the Lord rules the Jivātman from within, and not from without, for the Lord is the Ātman of the Jiva. His rule is the rule of the soul over the body. The Jiva belongs to the Lord in a more intimate and organic sense than any ordinary servant is known to belong to his master. He has no independent existence apart from the Lord, and is inseparable from Him. Hence to view the Jiva as a separate entity with a life of his own is incorrect. (2) According to Advaita Vedānta the Parabrahman alone is real. When in association with Avidyā, it becomes or appears to be the Jiva. This view is also unacceptable for the reasons already dealt with, and also because the texts reveal a different picture. One of them speak of the Jiva as an Amśa or an integral attribute of the Parabrahman, and Advaita with its Māyāvāda can hardly do justice to this view. The relation between the real rope and the unreal snake cannot by any means be translated as that of an Amśi to an Amśa. The texts that reveal the Jivas as constituting an Amśa of that great Purusha, who has a splendid uniquely awe-inspiring form and innumerable excellent attributes, do not refer to the Nirguṇa Brahman of Advaita. The unqualified, attributeless Absolute can have nothing as its Amśa. If the Amśa (i.e. the Jivas) were real, the Brahman cannot be attributeless or Śuddha Brahman. If, however, we maintain that the Brahman is Śuddha, the Jivas constituting its Amśa cannot be real. The only position that Advaita could take up under these

conditions is to argue that the Jiva (who is no other than the Parabrahman under the shadow of Ajnāna) is an Amśa of the Śuddha Brahman (free from all taint of Ajnāna). This would ultimately mean that the self-same brahman is both Amśa and Amśi. Hence the Advaitic view has to be rejected. (3) The next view differs from the last in only one respect. For the Advaitin the Jiva is but the Brahman-in-association-with ajnāna, and it is maintained that the ajnāna is unreal. Now there are some who, while endorsing the assertion that the Jiva is no other than the Brahman-in-association-with-ajnāna, proceed to argue that the limiting factor of ajnāna (which is called an upādhi) is real and not illusory. This, however, is not an improvement on the Advaitic position, so far as the nature of the Jivātman is concerned. The upādhi may be real, but the impossible conception of the self-same Brahman—though called in different contexts as “associated” and “un-associated”—being both an Amśa and Amśi persists unaltered. (4) Does Amśa merely mean a *part* of an aggregated whole? If so, could we call the Jiva as a *part* of the Brahman. But the Brahman is not an extended thing capable of being divided into parts; neither is the Jiva an outcome of such physical fragmentation. That is not how the texts reveal the nature of the Brahman. Moreover, if the Jiva were just a physical part of the Brahman, a chip of the big block, we should admit that the doshas or faults of the former affect and taint the latter as well. This would certainly contradict the meaning of the Śrutis, that reveal the Parabrahman as absolutely spotless. Hence this view is also incorrect. (5) Amśa here means an attribute. It belongs to an object as its inseparable property. The object as such is much more than its attributes, which form but a part of it. It is in this sense of subordinate importance that the Jiva as an Amśa may be said to be a part of the Parabrahman. We always know an object in association with certain attributes; we know it only as a viśiṣṭa vastu. The Parabrahman is Viśiṣṭa Brahman because all sentient and non-sentient things form part of its śareera. A viśiṣṭa vastu is a unity, and can be designated as “ekam” or one. The viśeṣaṇa or attribute of the Viśiṣṭa Vastu may rightly be called its Amśa. In thus recognizing the Jiva as an Amśa of the Parabrahman and in interpreting “Amśa” as an inseparable, though distinct, attribute, we obviate the difficulties arising in all other views.

Vyāsa has expressed the full force of the above conclusion in his Sūtra, “Prakāśādivattu naivam parah” (2:3:45). That there is an Amśa-Amśi relation between the Jiva and the Brahman is clear from the texts. They also tell us that the Jiva is an abode

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of many faults, while the Brahman is without the slightest trace of any defect. The faults present in the Amśa do in no way touch or affect the Amśi. This is an important point to be remembered in support of the distinct character of each. An illustration is given. The sun, which is the source of all light, illumines other objects by sending out its rays to them far and wide. The attribute of radiance belongs to it as an inseparable Amśa. The sun with its attribute of radiance is a viśiṣṭa vastu. It is one. Yet the sun is not identical with the radiance; the Amśa is different from the Amśi. To mention one difference Prakāśa or radiance has the quality of spreading itself far and wide (in the form of rays), whereas the sun (as the heavenly body) is confined to its seat and path. Again consider the case of the Jiva himself, who is ever in association with some śareera or other, be it of an ordinary human or sub-human being or of a super-human Deva. The Jiva with his inseparable attribute of a śareera of some kind or other is a Viśiṣṭa, and each Jiva counts for one and only one. The śareera or body being different from the Jivātman or the finite soul the faults or doshas of the former do not affect the latter. Likewise is the Jivātman an Amśa of the Parabrahman. The Brahman is Viśiṣṭa Parabrahman. It is one (ekam), but it has attributes, that form an Amśa in relation to it. The Amśa being distinct from the Amśi the faults or defects of the Jiva, who is the Amśa, do not affect the Brahman, who is the Amśi.

Vyāsa thus establishes that the several substances mentioned in order from Ākāśa to Ātman are the result of the Parabrahman's causation, that indeed the entire Jagat is the out-come of the creative activity of the Parabrahman. He also indicates by the way the several distinguishing qualities inherent in the Jivātman, such as its eternal nature (nityatvam), its monadic nature (aṇutvam), capacity to act (kartṛtvam), intelligence (jñātvam), subservience to and dependence on the Paramātman (parādheenatvam), and its status as an integral attribute of the Brahman (amśatvam).

The Supreme Lord, whom the Upanishads designate as the Jagatkāraṇa is hailed as "Ānandamayā" in the section known as Ānandavallī of the Taittirīya Upanishad. To attain this inexhaustible source of incomparable bliss is the goal of every sentient individual. Constant, love-inspired and love-nourished meditation on the beauty and excellence of the Supreme Being (Bhakti) and unquestioning self-surrender to Him (prapatti) are the means to attain this highest end. For the practice of Bhakti the individual should qualify himself by developing non-attachment to the things of this world (vairāgya) and a deep love and longing for the

Supreme. With a view to kindling the spirit of *vairāgya* and inspiring the individual with intense love for the Lord Vyāsa proceeds to describe the perfections and excellences of the Parabrahman as contrasted with the poor, misery-ridden character of every earthly object.

In delineating the defects of the Jiva Vyāsa refers to the five states of consciousness, viz. the waking state (*jāgrata*), deep-sleep (*sushupti*), dream-state (*svapna*), swoon-state (*mūrcha*), and the state of death (*maraṇa*). Everyone of these has its own doshas or defects, but they are all alike in respect of a common defect; the Jiva experiences sorrow in everyone of the states. Liability to the experience of pain or sorrow is, therefore, a dosha of the Jiva. He does sometimes experience pleasure, but it is neither unmixed with pain nor permanent and lasting. Every pleasure, has an admixture of pain, while pleasure and pain always alternate with each other. This is so because of the individual's association with Prakṛti, as a result of Karma. The connection with Prakṛti is always present in the Jiva. Awake, asleep or in dream, in the present world or in any other, the Jiva is throughout in association with Prakṛti, as determined by his karma, and consequently he has to experience pain in some form or other. Even life in a higher and better world is not unmixed with pain. We hear and speak of the pleasures of Svargaloka; but to enjoy these one must go equipped with a *divya-śareera* (superior body) made up of subtle elements (*bhūta-sūkshma*). The pleasures of Svargaloka are but passing and uncertain, for the duration of the individual's stay there and the nature of his enjoyment are determined by the merit he has acquired while on earth, to which he must return sooner or later.

The dream-state is no better, for we find that there also the Jiva has experience of sorrow and suffering in accordance with his karma, and that appropriate dream-objects are created to provide him such experience as he deserves. Although there may be some little pleasure experienced in a dream it turns out subsequently to be but pain, for the defects and limitations of the waking moments are all present there. It is a fact that dream-objects are regarded as unreal, but in what sense exactly are they unreal? The Upanishad does say that when a man *dreams* of a drive in a chariot along a highway there is really neither the chariot nor the highway. This statement in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad* is immediately followed by another, saying that the chariots, the horses and the highways are all created, and "He" is the creator (*Sahī Kartā*).

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There seems to be a contradiction between the two statements, for the first says that the objects are *not* there, and the second that the objects are all created by the Lord. But the context reconciles the apparent contradiction. Taking the second statement first we read that the dream-objects are all created by "Him." Is this creator the Jiva or the Parabrahman? It may be said that the creator in the context is the Jiva himself, for it is he that experiences the objects created. But Rāmānuja's interpretation of the answer given by Vyāsa is different, and it says that only he, who has the capacity to bring about a result by the mere fiat of his will (i.e. the quality of *satya-sankalpatvam*), can truly create anything. The bond-jiva lacks that ability, and cannot, therefore, be the creator of his dream-objects. The Lord possesses it, and it would be quite proper to attribute to Him all types of creation. The context would also support this view, for the Vākya preceding, as well as the one following, that under reference speak of the Supreme Lord. Moreover, the Śāstras say that dreams presage the auspicious or inauspicious character of events that are to follow, that our dreams contain both auspicious and inauspicious indications of the future. If all the dream-objects were creations of the Jiva, would he create inauspicious things for himself? The reference in the Upanishadic statement, "Sahi Kartā" must obviously be to the Paramātmā, the Supreme Creator. The discussion relating to the Vākyas in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad cited above is covered by the Sūtra, "Māyā mātrantu kārtsnyena anabhivyakta svarūpatyāt". (3:2:3.) In the interpretation of this the Viśiṣṭādvaitin differs from the Advaitin. The latter argues that the Upanishadic text clearly reveals the unreal character of the dream-objects, and the Sūtra merely reiterates this truth. Whatever is experienced as being in a place or at a time, where and when it actually is not, must be considered unreal. Just as when we perceive silver in the place of mother-of-pearl we call it unreal or illusory, the dream-objects are also unreal, for they do not exist *there*. It is this sort of illusory experience that is referred to by the expression "Māyā mātrantu" in the Sūtra.

Rāmānuja contends that the expression "māyā" in the Sūtra can be properly interpreted, if we do not miss the real emphasis in the relative Upanishadic statement. The Vākya denies only the objective reality of things experienced in a dream. Horses, chariots and highways are there for the particular individual, who dreams, and at the moment of his dream. But they are not as such objects of other people's experience. They are for him, and for him alone, and even he does not see them at other moments. "No chariots,

no horses, no, highways" means that *there* (i.e. in the dream) are no chariots, horses and highways, that can be experienced at all times and by all persons or at other times and by other persons in the same manner. The next Vākyaṃ says that the objects experienced by a particular individual in his dream are created by the Lord. This sort of creation is wonderful, for it means that an exclusive world is created for an individual's own experience. "A set of objects capable of being experienced exclusively by a certain individual at a particular time in a certain dream is really a wonderful creation, and this wonder it is that is expressed in "Māyā mātrantu" of Vyāsa. Māyā does not mean what is false or illusory. It expresses wonder, and implies that the capacity for wonderful creation (āścārya sṛṣṭi kartṛtvam) is an attribute of the Lord.

(To be concluded.)

Reviews

JOHN COMPANY AT WORK—A Study of European Expansion in India in the last Eighteenth Century—by Holden Furber Associate Professor of History, University of Texas. Published by Harward University Press, Cambridge—pages xi plus 407, 1948.

Professor Furber is the author of "Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742 to 1811" and of "The Private Records of an Indian Governor-Generalship." He thinks that this monograph on the study of European Trade and Politics in the East in the last decades of the 18th century should be, fittingly the last volume of a History of European Enterprise and Expansion in India during the 18th century, which should start from 1708, the point at which W. W. Hunter left it in his incomplete two-volumed History of British India. He feels that Anglo-Indian Historical Studies have grievously suffered, because many of the pages are "neither easy nor cheerful reading". It is perhaps innate in one of his (American) nationality to feel, as he does, that the Europeans who traded and fought East of the Cape of Good Hope—'founded and shaped the modern world in no less measure than those who fought and occupied the two relatively empty Americas. He feels also that the ideal historian of Modern India should be neither an European nor an Asian, but he might well be an American, because as he glibly, though illogically, presumes, the American will not be affected by any cultural or political bias though subject to the natural prejudices and bias born of his pro-European heritage. In this book, he has utilised records of the Portuguese, Dutch and the French, besides those of the English, and devoted attention primarily to the trade activities, laying some stress on the political repercussions resulting therefrom. He further holds that a total change had been effected in the character and outlook of European activities in the East by the middle of the 18th century. His reading of the forces that were operating to bring about an extension of European arms in South-east India and in Bengal in the years 1740-60 may not be found to be fully valid in all its implications. The race for political power was not, as he imagines, entirely a race between European East India Companies alone, but it was a race in which there were some effective Indian participators as well. Again, the process is not made clear in every step of its

evolution that the epoch of the decade 1784-93 which is taken up as the most critical, while it was motivated by European Capitalism transcending national boundaries, could not but leave Britain the undisputed Mistress of India. The reasons adduced by the author include the oft-repeated argument arising from British Naval Superiority and the now-partially-discredited conception that the British alone possessed the moral and other sources of strength sufficient to withstand the deleterious—effects of Imperialism. The march of British Imperialistic Exploitation in India has been in the ultimate analysis, as soulless as the march of the exploitation of any of the other great European colonising powers. As Furber himself admits (page 331), there are available only two English documents unconnected with the nascent Christian Missionary Movement in India, which advocate special measures of protection for the Indian peoples. Even such a *Christian Director* like Charles Grant, who was so much concerned for the moral regeneration of Indians and who appears in his published letters and diaries as a 'spotless and saintly' character is revealed in a far less saintly life with reference to his earlier doings when he was a servant of the Company in Bengal.

Apart from these observations, it is a most instructive and penetrating historical survey that Mr. Furber gives us in the present book. Separate chapters are devoted to the relations of the British with the French, the Dutch and the Danes. And we are treated to a very good account of the monopolisation of what has been called the 'country-trade' by British hands. Incidentally, we learn that a policy of evacuation of French India settlements was actually envisaged in the French Government's despatch to Pondicherry in May 1788, and the Governor of Pondicherry actually wrote on it to the Ministry that "Tippoo neither can nor do us any good and his alliance would ruin us in India; all the money spent by the King on troops and establishments serves only to enrich our rivals because it is through them that we live."

Dutch Trade had become negligible even in the decade before the Seven Years War; and the process of its decay after that war was rapidly accelerated on the periphery, though the central core of their Spice Trade remained relatively untouched. The English had made heavy inroads everywhere on their trade so much so that any attempt to restore the Dutch Company's affairs without English countenance had become impossible. Sir John Macpherson who followed Warren Hastings, in the Bengal Governor-Generalship, was liberal in those matters which were personal to the activities of the Dutch Chief at Chinsura. Stagnation was the only

word applicable for Dutch activity in Bengal in the eighties ; while, on the Coromandal Coast, the acquisition of Negapatam by the English in 1780 was a literal death-blow to their prosperity.

As regards the Danes they thrived for a time, in India on the quarrels of the leading maritime powers ; and the American and Mysore Wars opened for them an era of increased activity. But their trade finances largely depended upon Dutch and British capital. One of the factors contributing to Danish-Denial after 1786 was the competition of the Ostend Company and of the managers of private India ventures, ostensibly from Ostend, never sought publicity. Enough light is thrown in the narrative on the European clandestine trade with India in the late 18th century, the participants in which could not be confined within any regional limits, but regarded themselves as having the inherent right to spread their operations over the whole world.

The *country-trade* which had been already monopolised by Europeans now came more and more into British hands, while the Dutch and the Portuguese lost their grip of it in an increasing measure. When war broke out between Britain, and France and Holland, in 1780 dozens of ships dealing in illicit arms traffic, scurried from port to port, hoisting Portuguese or Danish colours ; and there was little doubt that many English Country Captains were shielded by the Portuguese Flag with the full connivance of everyone concerned, including the English Company's servants on both the coasts. When peace was restored in 1784, the pace was set for a great expansion of the direct trade between Bengal and China and other regions. The British acquisition of Penang in 1786 made a great impression upon all Britain's rivals ; and the Dutch Company clearly perceived its inability to defend itself against attacks on its long-held monopoly in the Archipelago. The expansion of the opium and cotton trade with China was another marked feature of this epoch. Everywhere, in the Indian seas during the years 1783-93, signs of Britain's "far-reaching and rapid expansion at the expense of her European rivals" were to be seen ; and this expansion was incidentally reflected in their increased ship-building activity, particularly of country-ships, in Bengal and Burma.

The study of the trade and politics in the three Presidencies of India made in the book shows that the private concerns of the Company's servants far out-weighed their anxiety to promote the Company's interests. In other words, the Company as merchant was being rapidly swallowed up in the Company as Sovereign. And the private concerns of the Company's servants plainly revealed lot of graft and corruption, penetrating into every part of

the trade and financial activities of the great Agency Houses and of the Indian Shroffs and Capitalists through whom they worked on behalf of the servants of the Company and other European merchants. Everywhere Government's commercial and political activities were closely inter-woven with, and influenced, by the private affairs of the leading merchants and civil and military servants. This phenomenon was far more obvious in Bombay than in Madras. In Bengal the *regime* of Macpherson plainly reflected the change that had come over. When he assumed office in February 1785, Fowke prophesied that his "Chief Advisers would be Mackenzie 'under the tuition of Colly Chund,' Tom Graham, William Petrie, and other choice spirits among the contractors for opium, salt and saltpetre."

Even the outbreak of the war with Tippu in 1789 was due, among other factors, to the group of Cochin Jews like E. Cohen and A. Samuels, who were among the Country traders and persuaded the Dutch to sell, and the Rajah of Travancore to buy, the Dutch Forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta, from which, after months of violent diplomatic inter-change between Madras, Bengal and Tippu, war resulted. The acting Madras Governor, John Hollond, a typically corrupt civilian, vacillated and temporised to such an extent that Tippu hesitated for long to risk an open attack upon the Travancore Lines; Hollond, like many others, of his kind, feared that the first effect of war would be a suspension of payment to the creditors of the Nawab of the Carnatic which would seriously affect them. The war, when it came, did not prove to be an un-mixed evil. The Dutch did not lose Cochin, while the Jews and other country merchants profited abundantly from the sale of military supplies got from Batavia. The Rajah of Travancore had to look on helplessly, while the English Power spread over the Malabar Coast and their trade monopolised the entire market for pepper. In England, in this decade, the Directors fought hard to protect Indian piecegoods against the rising Lancashire competition. Everywhere there appeared signs of aggressive British Imperialism which threatened to absorb the Company into the State.

Professor Furber would not agree with the normal accepted view as to the drain from India, but would hold that the correct calculation of the actual drain is an almost impossible task. He would conclude that it certainly did not reach the vast proportions attributed to it by writers like R. C. Dutt and W. Digby and plead that the drain towards the West was but a drain in goods while direct exports of bullion to Europe were negligible. This view,

held along with his general tendency to ignore the part that British Capitalism played in alliance with Indian Capitalists towards the depression of Indian industry in that epoch would make some of his conclusions suspect in the eye of every patriotic Indian student. But he throws enough light on the process of imperialistic and capitalistic expansion in the decade under survey; and his conclusion that the story of European Expansion in India is but the story of the relentless march of British Power is but too plain like the writing on the wall. He throws, justifiably enough, the task of ascertaining the great changes wrought on Indian Society, by British Imperialism on Indian Scholars who ought to explore the as yet almost uncharted sea of India's Social and Economic History in the 18th Century.

C. S. S.

THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR, by Fr. I. Daniel, 1945, Madras, pp. x and 62, Re. 1.

I

This is a neatly printed booklet. The author is to be congratulated on the interest he has taken in this history and on the work he has done.

A thorough study of the subject is not an easy job, and therefore the large number of inaccuracies found in the book is quite pardonable. While appreciating his labours in this field, I offer a few criticisms.

I. He does not give us any authority for his statements. No document, no history, is one of the fundamental principles for the construction of history. As for documents any statement found in a printed book is not a historical document. For example, he gives the following conversation between the Portuguese and the Syrians. The Portuguese said, "These churches belong to the Pope." "Who is the Pope? We never heard of him", answered the Syrians (p. 23). He does not give us his authority; it is from Dr. Buchanan of the 19th century. A 19th century book cannot be a document for the history of the 16th century.

He has made statements which are not found in any printed book. Had he done this work with the determination that no statement should be made without authority, he could have avoided many errors in his book.

II. The Chaldean immigration of 345 A.D., the author says, "raised the social status of the Christians" (p. 14). The position advanced by the author is quite unwarranted.

III. "The Christians of India," Fr. Daniel says, "henceforward (after the immigration of the 4th century) called themselves Syrians and the Church the Syrian Church" (p. 14). The Malabar Christians were, for the first time, called Syrian Christians by a Dutch Governor in the 18th century. It is impossible to cite a single record earlier than the 18th century, which speaks of these Christians by the name Syrian. In all the earlier records they are called the Christians of St. Thomas or the Christians of the Serra (mountain, i.e., Malankara). [Or, in pre-Portuguese records Nascarini (=Nasrānis), or Tarisa (Persian, Tersa), or *Nestoriani* (Nestorians), or simply *Christiani* (= Christians), or locally Māppīlas (a title meaning "sons of kings" as Gouvea says (Folio IV v, col. 1). The Malabar Chera king's Hindu subjects too were called his children (*pillais* = sons or daughters, common gender). The title Māppīla (=Mā-pillai) for the males among the St. Thomas Christians, Jews, and (Mopla) Muslims of Malabar is *mā* plus *pillai*, meaning son, *mā* (Tamil) indicating the masculine gender. *Ma* here is not from Sanskrit *mahā*, great.]

The West Asiatic bishops and others who came to the St. Thomas Christians of the Serra were, in and before ca. 1500, called by European writers, Armenians or Chaldeans, and their liturgical language (Eastern Syriac) Chaldean. It is not certain that "Thomas Cananeo" (Knāyi Thomman), the leader of the immigration, was an Armenian, Chaldean, Cananite (of Canaan), Galilean (of Cana in Galilee), Arabian (of Cana in Arabia), or of some other race —T. K. J.]

IV. "They have published a book called, 'Voyages of Joseph the Indian, wherein it is stated that the Syrian Church is under Nestorian Catholicos who is subject to Antiochian Patriarch' (p. 22). But the above book does not say that the Catholicos was "subject to the Antiochian Patriarch"; it says that the Catholicos had two patriarchs under him.

V. Fr. Daniel:—"The Syrian Church sought in them their support and help from the oppression and persecution of the heathen kings". (p. 24).

On what authority does he say that the rulers of the land oppressed and persecuted the Christians? Menezes says in one of the decrees of the Synod of Diamper, "The Synod having taken into

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consideration the manifold injustices, oppressions and grievances, wherewith the infidel kings and governors do often treat the Christians of this bishopric.....and observing the necessity they are in of defence and protection, doth desire, that His Majesty the King of Portugal would be graciously pleased to take all Christians of this Bishopric under his favour and protection" (Sess IX, decree 24). Menezes wanted some pretext to bring these Christians under the control of the Portuguese.

Let us hear what Gouvea, under the inspiration of Menezes, says in his *Jornada* (1606) : "They suffer much injustice at the hands of the Pagan kings, who, however, give them certain privileges in regard to their honour..... In this respect their privileges and prerogatives are well observed, so that, if any is broken or any offence done they appeal to the King, who offers satisfaction, and generally as retribution of the fault committed, gives an arm or hand of silver or something else which satisfies them, as a gift to the Church of the aggrieved Christians. It is only in the matter of property that tyranny and violence is done to them. For if there is any dispute between them, and any one complains to the Raja, he appropriates as much of the property of both as he can by way of punishment without any order, or just agreement or right. When Christians die, the Rajas take a share of the inheritance like any of the sons, and as division is made by their officers, the larger portion always falls to the Rajas. Some of them did not use this violent means ; the first to introduce it was the Raja of Cochin some years ago, and some others have followed suit" (Liv. I, Cap. XIX). "It is *only* in the matter of property that tyranny and violence is done to them". The first case is that those who go to law against their brethren had to suffer. The second is real oppression ; but it is plainly said that "some of them did not use this violent means," and that it was first introduced "some years ago" i.e., during the 16th century, when these Christians were weakened by the Portuguese. "Some years" cannot mean more than 100 years ; Gouvea wrote in the beginning of the 17th century. It is therefore evident that there was no such oppression when the Portuguese landed here—the beginning of the 16th century.

Gouvea speaks of another hardship. When the Archbishop's servants killed a cow the king took action against it. "Such are the hardships," Gouvea says, "undergone by the poor Christians subject to these heathen princes" (Liv. II, Cap. IV). This was no hardship at all for the St. Thomas Christians, who by ancient custom

did not like to kill a cow. Gouvea says himself that these Christians do not like meat, though they take it when offered by the Portuguese. That they hated beef till very lately is a fact that cannot be questioned.

Some of the extraordinary privileges granted to them by the ancient sovereigns were enjoyed by them at the time of the Portuguese advent in 1498. Barbosa in the beginning of the 16th century (c. 1510) says that the St. Thomas Christians were entitled to certain customs duties (A description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar, p. 162).

"If any of them commit any crime they should enquire into the case themselves" is a privilege named in the Quilon Church copper plate. It was agreed between Afonso Albuquerque and the authorities of the State of Venad "that the civil and criminal jurisdiction should be under the control of the native Christians as it had always been hitherto." (*Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque*, Vol. I, p. 14).

"For these churches" (Latin churches), says Gouvea, "leave to build them must be obtained from the Rajas, while the Christians of St. Thomas, being their subjects and children of the soil, may build as many as they like without let or hindrance" (Liv. II, Cap. XI).

That the rulers of the land loved these loyal Nasrāṇi subjects and held them in high esteem is a point on which there can be no controversy.

Fr. Vincent Maria of the 17th century says :—"The princes with most Christian subjects are the most feared, the most esteemed, the most powerful, and hence the Christians are very much liked by the princes, be it for the service they derive from them and be it for the reputation in which they are held of being loyal and truthful (*Il Viago All Indie*, Book II, Ch. V, p. 152).

There is abundant evidence to prove that the Nayar community, during the early centuries, was very friendly to these Nasrāṇi Christians. Gouvea speaks of several occasions when the Nayars came forward to help the Christians, offering to shed their blood for them.

Vincent Maria says :—"The Nayars, i.e., the pagan soldiers are very fond of them (St. Thomas Christians) holding them like brothers" (*Ibid.* p. 154).

Further it was not easy to oppress them. Gouvea says that there were fifty thousand Christian soldiers in the State of Cochin (Liv. I, Cap. XV). Many petty rulers in Kerala could not command 50,000 soldiers. "The Queen of Pimenta (Vaṭakkumkūr) is very powerful", Gouvea says, ".....She could place in the field 30,000 men" only. (Liv. I, Cap. XIII). The Christian soldiers all over Kerala were ready to be mobilized at the order of the Archdeacon. What was their condition during the middle of the 17th century after all the Portuguese persecutions? Vincent Maria says:—"The men always go armed, some with rifles which sling over their bare shoulders, some with spear in the shaft of which run two rings of tempered steel, which when moved produce an agreeable sound. The greater part however is armed with a naked sword, which they carry in their right hand and a shield in their left. What astonishes rather much is, that being constantly armed one very rarely hears of quarrels, never of murder among them. When going to church for their devotions they all leave their arms in the portico, which looks like an arsenal and it is unheard of that any of the various arms be mixed up or stolen" (p. 152).

Note: We hear of persecution in about 1500 A.D., and later. In 1500 a deputation from the St. Thomas Nasrānis of Cranganore complained to Gama against "Heathens and Moors, by whom they were badly treated," and "besought him.....to protect and defend them against that pagan people, who persecuted them—*que os persequia*."—De Barros' *Da Asia*, 1552. He says also that many Christians of pre-Portuguese times had abandoned Kanara and the Zamorin's (Calicut) territory, and come south to Cochin on account of the molestations of the Muslims, and chosen a Christian king called Beliarde (= Valiyēdat, வலியேடத்து in Diamper, Travancore), of whom, probably, St. Antoninus (1389-1459) says that he sent to the Pope annually a present of pepper. Before 1496 there were in Calicut, says Hieronymo, "as many as a thousand houses inhabited by Christians." Persecution appears to have occurred only where there were Moors, and Portuguese, their rivals in trade, and Rite respectively. *Oriente Conquistado* (1650 A.D.) speaks of Portuguese molestation, from which the St. Thomas Christians "ran away to the mountains when they were forced to change their Rite" (Chaldean, East Syrian).—T. K. J.

VI. Fr. Daniel says that the Archdeacon at his *first* visit was forced by the Archbishop to sign a document, which excommunicated the Patriarch of Babylon (p. 27). It was at a subsequent meeting.

VII. Fr. Daniel: "The following facts are clear from these records (Acts and Decrees of Diamper).....The Syrian Church never believed in the transubstantiation theory of the Holy Eucharist. But they believed that after consecration the holy elements (Bread and Wine) become the body and blood of Christ" (pp. 30, 31). This is a gross misrepresentation of facts. While enumerating the errors of the books used in the Church, the Synod of Diamper, says:—"Also the book of 'Timothy the Patriarch' where, in three chapters, the most holy sacrament of the altar is blasphemed; it being impiously, asserted in them that the true body of our Lord Christ is not there, but only the figures thereof". "Also the book of Homilies, wherein it is said that holy Eucharist is only the image of Christ and is distinguished from him as an image is from a true man" (Sess. III, Decree XV). This decree speaks of five books, such as the Breviary, the Burial service, the Homily, etc., which *denied transubstantiation as well as consubstantiation.*

VIII. Again, that "the Church accepted all the seven sacraments" is clear from the Decrees of Diamper (p. 31). Where is that decree? Gouvea, under the inspiration of Menezes, says:—"As for the sacraments.....they acknowledge none other than baptism, Holy Orders, and the Eucharist" (Liv. I, cap. XVIII).

IX. Fr. Daniel: "Archdeacon Thomas assumed the title of Mar Thoma. Some say that twelve Syrian priests laid their hands on him. It cannot be a fact" (p. 33). It is however, an undeniable fact, and there was much dispute between the parties regarding the validity of such a consecration.

X. Fr. Daniel says that Ānjilimoottil Itty Thoman Kattanar was from Kallissēry, (p. 33). Ānjilimoottil was, and still is, at Thalavady. He was some time Vicar of Kallissēry, and some time of Kottayam.

XI. Fr. Daniel: "Mar Thoma was uneasy about the validity of his consecration" (p. 36) What is the authority for this statement? This Mar Thoma had no doubt about the validity of his orders.

XII. The consecration of Mar Dionysius, according to the booklet under review, took place in 1772 (p. 37). In fact it was in 1770 according to the *stāticōn* (In the Royal Court of Final Appeal, Vol. III, pp. 55, 56).

XIII. "The staff and the cross, which the Syrian bishops had brought with them from Antioch for Mar Thoma V, was handed over to Mar Dionysius" (p. 37). It is mere imagination,

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XIV. "Remban Geevarughese of Kattumangad near Parur", Fr. Daniel says, was consecrated as Bishop Cyril (p. 38). There are two mistakes here. The Remban's name was Kurien, who had a brother named Geevarughese Kathanār. Kattumangatt is at Muḷamthuruthy.

XV. "Joseph Remban was at this time collecting money from various churches to build an educational institution" (p. 42). This statement is quite groundless.

XVI. Dionysius Pulikod, according to Fr. Daniel, died in 1818 (pp. 42/61). In fact he died on Sunday, 24th November 1816 (*Missionary Register for 1818*, p. 103). The Royal proclamation dated 26th Dhanu 992 (7th January 1817) says: "Whereas Mar Dionysius Metropolitan is dead and Philoxenos Metran living at Chowghat has been appointed instead" (*Selected Proclamations*, p. 27).

XVII. "After the death of Dionysius III, Mar Philoxenos was proclaimed as the rightful Malankara Metropolitan" (p. 46). Immediately after the death of Dionysius II, Philoxenos, as said above, was proclaimed as the Metropolitan, who after some time, consecrated Dionysius III and retired, but after the death of the latter, Philoxenos again assumed the reins of the Church.

XVIII. The Seminary building was completed in 1814 according to the booklet (p. 42). The plot on which the Seminary was built, was given on 6th Karkatakam 990 M.E. (19th November 1814).

XIX. Fr. Daniel: "Mar Thoma VIII and IX were not descended from the male line of the family but of the female line" (p. 42). The opponents of Mar Thoma VIII in a petition say, "The present Metran does not belong to that family. Since he is the descendant of one who was adopted from Pakalomattam to a family in Kadamattam he has no claim to the bishopric" (Ittoop, p. 162).

XX. Fr. Daniel: "The Bishop was called over to Quilon and the Resident had an interview with him. He requested the Bishop to admit the C. M. S. priest by name Norton in the Seminary. He stoutly opposed this" (p. 43).

E. M. Philipose has made such a statement on the authority of his grandfather's Diary. No one has seen this Diary; but we are asked to rely on him. It is true that Col. Munro invited Dionysius to Quilon in order to introduce Norton to him.

Norton gives a long account of his interview, and he concludes saying, "He (Metropolitan) received me, as he expressed himself,

as sent by the Lord to be their deliverer and protector, and prayed that God would bless my efforts among them. He scarcely knows how, to express his gratitude sufficiently for my arrival" (Missionary Register, 1818, p. 98). This was in May 1816. Against this, E. M. Philipose wants us to believe his private record. Moreover the story is most improbable.

(1) The building was not completed at the time, May 1816. "About the middle of June (1816) Mr. Norton went to Kottayam by desire of the Resident in order to examine the progress of the College" (= Seminary).

"He writes: 'The Metropolitan received me in the most friendly manner and took me over the whole of the building..... The bishop expects it to be completed in about six months'" (M. R. for 1818, p. 102).

(2) It is difficult to believe that it was proposed by Col. Munro to accommodate a European family in the Old Seminary. Even now with all the extentions that have been made, no better class family, either European or Indian, would contemplate living in the Seminary. In 1817 Bailey, without Mrs. Bailey, lived in a temporary apartment prepared for the purpose in the Seminary compound to superintendent and hasten the building of a bungalow at a short distance.

(3) Even before the arrival of Norton, Munro had expressed his plan, and that was that Norton "should remain there (Quilon) without any ostensible employment for some months in order to obtain a knowledge of the Malayalam language and the popular usages of the Syrian Christians" (Missionary Register for 1816, p. 387).

XXI. Fr. Daniel: "But gradually Missionaries began to change their policy. They had started their work among the Syrians with the definite understanding that they would not interfere with the faith or practice of the Church or destroy its independence. After some years they began to introduce certain alterations in the liturgy, and in some centres they introduced the Anglican liturgy in place of Syrian liturgy. Besides they preached against the doctrines of the Church, such as prayer for the dead, invocation of the saints, holy Eucharist as a sacrifice, and so forth. Hence the Bishop Mar Dionysius of Cheppad stoutly opposed all such attempts" (p. 44).

"I endeavoured", says Norton, ".....to convince the Metropolitan in the presence of several of his Kattanars that we had no

other object in view than the benefit of the Syrian Church; and assured him that it was our sole desire to be instrumental by the divine assistance in strengthening his hands for removing those evils, which they had derived from the Church of Rome, and which he himself lamented, and to bring them back to their primitive state according to the purity of the Gospel" (M. R. for 1818, p. 98).

He told them positively that one of the objects of the mission was reformation. Though he did not name the errors at the first interview, they were soon made known to the authorities, and the authorities were favourable.

In October 1816 Middleton, the Metropolitan of India, had a conference with eleven Kattanars (priests) of this Church. "The Bishop being provided with his memorandum book and pencil began the conference through his interpreter". We find the following in that memorandum book :—"They nevertheless use prayers for the dead.....but they confess that their poverty rather than their will consents to this practice, and that they continue it chiefly as a source of income" (*The Life*, Vol. I, pp. 287-297).

"The expurgation of their ritual from the popish ceremonies... were made the subject of a discussion with the present Metran (Punnathara) a year ago (i.e. in 1817) and he then expressed his earnest wish that these objects might be effected. Since the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Fenn in Travancore, the subject of reformation has been taken up in a large scale; and in order to ascertain in what particulars it is required and to effect its accomplishment by the authority of the Metran himself, it was proposed in an address delivered by Mr. Fenn at an assembly of all the Kattanars and elders of the Syrian churches south of Kottayam held by the Metran at his suggestion at Mavelikkara on the 3rd of December (1818) in the presence of upwards of 700 persons, that six of the eldest and most respectable Kattanars should be appointed to define, in conjunction with the Metropolitan and Malpan, the existing rites, ceremonies and worship of the Syrian Church; in order to every part being canvassed by them and the Missionaries and brought to the test of the rule of the Scriptures" (*Proceedings of the C. M. S.* 19th year, p. 167). The address which Fenn delivered in this Synod is published. In the address he discussed the invocation of saints and other similar topics (*P. C. M. S.* 20th year, Appendix).

Mar Dionysius Punnathara, in a Syriac letter dated 3rd Ranur, Friday 1821 addressed to the President and members of the C. M. S., says :—"The priest Benjamin (Benjamin Bailey), the priest Joseph (Joseph Fenn) and the priest Henry (Henry Baker) our spiritual

and temporal friends, brothers and assistants, whom you have sent to us, that they may *root out the thorns and tares* from among the children of God, are anxiously seeking all the requisites for the redemption of our souls" (P. Cheriyan, p. 376).

It is therefore evident that the Missionaries did not in the least change their policy; from the very beginning they gave the authorities of the Church understand that they desired a reformation in the Church, and the authorities were favourable. In fact Dionysius Cheppad, unlike his predecessors, was against the idea of reformation. It is not the change of policy on the part of the Missionaries, but only the change of Metran (Bishop) that caused the split. The Missionaries did not rush on with any reform; they were slowly working for it. That they "began to introduce certain alterations in the liturgy" is absolutely groundless. The reformation of the liturgy took place only after the split, and that was done by some clergymen of the Syrian, non-Roman Catholic Church—perhaps the Missionaries might have been consulted.

That "in some centres they introduced the Anglican liturgy in place of the Syrian liturgy" is a misrepresentation.

As for the Anglican liturgy the facts are given below.

"The chapel at the College," so wrote Bailey on 10th November 1818, "being so far finished as to allow of divine service being performed, it was opened on Sunday, 20th September. The Metropolitan performed service in the morning according to the Syriac ritual. Having translated the morning and evening services of our liturgy into Malayalam, I ventured to perform service in the same, for the first time in the afternoon. Abraham, a kattannar, who is the chief tutor (Konnatt Abraham Malpan) in the College makes the responses, and highly values his office. The Metropolitan, kattannars and students in the College were all present with a number of Syrians. A greater solemnity pervaded the congregation than is generally to be observed in the Syrian churches; they all appeared much interested, a circumstance which may easily be accounted for. The form of service used among the Syrians is all Syriac—a language totally unknown to the laity..... After service the Metropolitan observed to me that the prayers were very good, and requested me to procure copies, that they might be sent to all the Syrian churches. I have divine service every Sunday since (P. C. M. S. 19th year, p. 321).

The Missionaries wrote:—"Another favourable circumstance is, the pleasure with which the Metropolitan and several of his clergy

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have received Mr. Bailey's present of the English liturgy in their native tongue. Of their own accord some of the kattanars have read it in their churches. It appears to us to be of growing importance, the discipline and service of that Church should be exhibited to them, so far as it may be in their power. Not that we wish to impose any of our ceremonies on them, much less to identify them with the English Church; but a model is necessary for them in their attempt at reformation" (P. C. M. S. 20th year, pp. 178, 179).

Rev. J. Hough says: "I shall give now a summary view of the state of the mission at the close of 1820, when I visited the Missionaries, at the request of the Madras Corresponding Committee. Mr. Bailey translated a great part of the English liturgy also into Malayalam; and I had the pleasure of being present, when he performed divine service in that language in an old Syrian Church, which was nearly filled with Syrians. A good proportion of kattanars were present; and the person who officiated as clerk, reading the responses, even the lessons, was the Malpan, whom I had seen at the morning of the day perform the office of priest in the College chapel. On expressing my surprise at his taking so humble a station, I was informed, that he so admired our liturgy, that he was proud of the honour of taking any part in the service". (A reply to the letters of Abbe dubois, pp. 209-211).

The Malpān (= scholar in Syriac) at this time was Konat (or Mamalaseril) Abraham Malpan of whom Major Macworth after visiting this Church in 1821, wrote as follows:

"This Malpan's authority and influence in the Syrian Church are very considerable as he is much respected for his talents and learning; indeed his very obstinacy is useful to the Missionaries; because as they never even suggest any improvement without consulting him, nor adopt any without his concurrence, they are sure of never doing too much or of advancing beyond the present light and knowledge, which the Syrians possess" (pp. 99, 100).

Now it is evident that the evening prayers of the Anglican liturgy were recited by the Missionaries from the very beginning in the College chapel and in churches with the approval of the Metropolitan and the most conservative Kōnātt Malpān. Is it a change of policy on the part of the Missionaries? The High Church Missionaries, in recent years, have several times celebrated the holy Eucharist in the Jacobite churches in the presence of the Jacobite priests and people.

XXII. Fr. Daniel : "The breach was at length widened when Bishop Wilson of Calcutta visited Travancore in 1832. Bishop Wilson demanded that the Metropolitan should ordain only those who produce certificates of ability and character from the heads of the College." (p. 44). The visit of Wilson was not in 1832, but in 1835.

Wilson did not make a new demand. I shall quote a portion of their conversation :

"Bishop. When the agreement between Col. Munro and Metran was made, it was understood, that only those should be ordained, who were educated in the College."

"Metran. It was agreed so. Those that receive certificates can be ordained" (The Life of Daniel Wilson, Vol. II, pp. 54-62).

XXIII. Fr. Daniel :—"It is stated that he (Mathews Mar Athanasius) had taken with him a few false documents with the signatures of the people of Malankara requesting the Patriarch to consecrate him and that while he was deacon he celebrated the holy Kurubana (Eucharist) in Mosul", (p. 48).

These are absolutely groundless. It was the Jacobite Metran Mar Kurilos who for the first time brought these charges against Mar Athanasius, and that was before a committee composed of four judges appointed by the Travancore Government.

The Judgment :—"In the letter under date corresponding with the 3rd Meenam 1847, said to be from the Patriarch Elias to the Syrian churches, it is stated that 'Mar Athanasius had brought a letter purporting to be from the Syrian Community, in which they earnestly solicited that he may be consecrated Metropolitan :—that as there was neither seal nor signature affixed to that letter, he, Mar Athanasius, was questioned respecting it, when he replied that it was not usual to affix either seal or signature to letters addressed to superiors.' The above-mentioned letter from the Patriarch purports also that he, Mar Athanasius, obtained the Patriarch's Blessing by fraudulent means, and stated that he was a priest ; that letter further states, that Mar Athanasius had performed Mass at Moossul, and other sacred offices at the Patriarchal Convent :—"

Again :—"The Clergy and Parishioners of the Vallipally Church at Cottayam and 9 other churches, who side with Mar Coorilos declared before the Committee after a perusal of Mar Athanasius's Staticon, that 'it is stated therein that Mar Athanasius had proceeded to Antioch of his own accord, but that no mention is made in it that he was the bearer of any letter from the Syrian Community to the Patriarch'....."

"When the Patriarch could have known whether seals or signatures were attached to letters previously received by him from Malabar, it is not at all likely that he would have listened to, or much less admitted, any excuse for no seal or signature being affixed to the letter said to have been presented to him by Mar Athanasius; and therefore it is not worthy of credence that Mar Athanasius had taken any letter from the Syrian Community to the Patriarch, soliciting his appointment as Metropolitan, or that Mar Athanasius had been questioned on the subject of the seal and signature, or that he had replied that it was not usual to seal or sign letters addressed to superiors, or that he was elected Metropolitan in consequence of such application as is represented."

"If the Patriarch, considered him a Causeesa (Priest) and allowed him to exercise the functions of that Office in his own Convent, he would obviously not have gone back to a lower order by ordaining him a Chemaush (Deacon) in the first place as his Staticon proves. Hence it is evident, that Mar Athanasius could not have assumed the title or performed the functions of a Causeesa before he became such.".....

"Upon a review and deliberate consideration of the whole of the foregoing circumstances and evidence," the Committee concludes, it is the conviction of the Committee that Mar Coorilos has lent himself to acts which no man of principles would be guilty of; thereby compromising his character and the dignity assumed by him." (In the Royal Court of final Appeal Case No. iii, Vol. iii, p. 16-25).

Fr. Daniel also thinks that the story about the letter is incredible, and therefore he says that the letter was signed. If he denies the genuineness of the Patriarch's letter filed by Mar Kurilos, he has no document to show that Mar Athanasius produced before the Patriarch any letter. The authority for the second charge too is the spurious letter filed by Kurilor.

XXIV. Fr. Daniel has given a distorted version of the copper plate charter granted to the Cochin Jew Joseph Rabban, saying that it was given "to the Syrians and to their Bishop Joseph who emigrated from Syria.....in the year A.D. 345" (p. 62). He converted "Joseph Rabban" into "*Mar Joseph Rabban*," (Mar being a Syriac title). These two plates are now with Mr. N. E. Roby, a prominent Jew in Cochin. I have read them. The facsimile and the reading are published, and well known to scholars, and they cannot help wondering at this attempt. The translation is more amusing. The translator was evidently one who could neither read the inscription, nor understand it,

—K. N. Daniel

II

Mr. K. N. Daniel, who has his history of the church of Malabar, ready for publication, has in the above review confined himself mainly to the last seven chapters (VI to XII) of Fr. Daniel's booklet. So the earlier portion will be dealt with here.

Fr. Daniel's study has convinced him that "It is true that there is no clear historical proof about the apostolic origin of the church" of Malabar. The present reviewer's study of St. Thomas documents, ready for publication, has led him to the same conclusion, but bereft of the word 'clear'. Dr. Sylvain Lévi (See *J I H* 1948, p. 38), and Dr. F. C. Burkitt (*Ency. Brit.*, s. v. St. Thomas) hold the opinion that there is no historical evidence for the coming of St. Thomas to *any* part of India. The former adds that one is "right in denying any historical value to local legends which have nothing to bring to their support."

But Fr. Daniel says that "the tradition (South Indian) and the circumstantial evidence" (*viz.*, St. Thomas Mount where he did die; the tomb and fragments of bones, and of a lance, in the Mylapore Cathedral; and the Apostle's cave of refuge on the Little Mount, which cave Fr. Daniel wrongly locates on St. Thomas Mount—pp. 5-6) "are so strong that scholars hardly doubt the authenticity of the tradition" (p. 1). Prof. Jarl Charpentier, of Uppsala, is however of the opinion that one "quite correctly contends that St. Thomas probably never came to South India," (See *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift*, Uppsala, 1927, p. 24).

It may be pointed out here that there is no specific mention of St. Thomas' burial in Mylapore, earlier than Mar Solomon of Basrah, *circa* 1222 A.D., who says that "the king of the Indians" (and *not* a Hindu Emprān priest as Malabar says, or a fowler of the Govi caste as Marco Polo was informed in 1293) "stabbed him with a spear", and that the saint's body was "laid -- in Edessa" (he means the bones taken from India in or shortly after A.D. 233), but "others say that he was buried in Mahlūp" (= Mylapore), or vaguely, "in India", as the Oxford MS. has it. See Medlycott's *Thomas*, 1905, pp. 37-38. William of Malmesbury (d. 1142-43), Florence of Worcester (d. 1117), and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (883 A.D.) speak of St. Thomas in "India", vaguely. The enigmatic Kalamīnē, or Calamina, or Calamite mentioned since ca. 630 A.D. (in dated or datable records), or Iothabis mentioned in 546 as the place or places of burial, has been interpreted quite diversely according to the imagination, vested interest, or ingenuity of scholars who racked their brains over it.

But the earliest datable mention of Calamina as St. Thomas' burial place, *viz.*, that by St. Isidore (d. 636), points to its location in "the furthest eastern parts", not of the world, nor of India proper, but of "Parthia", which he in his *Etymologiarum Liber*, and Paulus Orosius (5th cent.) in his *Historia* describe as extending from the Tigris to the Indus. Isidore calls Calamina "a town of India", *i.e.* of Parthian India, the Indus region. That town can be Kalawan or Kala-ka Serai in Taxila of Gondophares. (See *infra*).

St. Gregory's account of the pilgrim Theodore's visit, shortly before A.D. 590, is vague too. It simply says: "*Ergo in loco regionis Indiae, quo prius quievit, monasterium habetur et templum*" --- (= in that part of "India" where the body ('*corpus*') first rested, stand a monastery and a church); and this part is N. W. India according to the Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas*, the earliest (ca. 220) document on the journeys of St. Thomas to, and in, the India of Kings Gundaphar and Mazdai (*q. v. infra*), and also according to St. Isidore (*supra*), St. Gregory's contemporary.

Jacob of Sarug too (A.D. 521-22) mentions "India", vaguely, in his Syriac poem on St. Thomas' palace, as all previous writers (Jerome, Ephrem, and others) do, except the tradition recorded first by Origen in his *Comm. on Genesis* (228-31 A.D.), which assigns to St. Thomas *Parthia* (as St. Isidore does in ca. 630). This, as Fr. Daniel agrees, "included part of what we now call India, *viz.* Punjab and other N. W. Provinces." (p. 8).

It may be noted here that in the sixth century in which Jacob's poem of 521-22 was being read, and Theodore visited the St. Thomas church and monastery in the town of India called Calamina (= Kalawan, probably: Isho-yahb's Kalah, 650-60 A.D.), Cosmas came in 520-25 to India. There were the powerful Huns then in N. W. India, and he mentions Christians among "the Huns.....and the rest of the Indians", as Bardaisan had spoken of Christians among the Kushans there in ca. 196 A.D. Cosmas calls the Hun king Gollas (=Mihirakula, ca. 525; Mo-hi-lo-ki-lo in Chinese).

Of the India-Parthia of *The Acts* (ca. 220) and Origen's tradition (ca. 230), Rev. Fr. Heras, S. J., says in his *Two Apostles of India*, 1944, that "the apparent contradiction ---- is the greatest proof of the historicity of the mission of St. Thomas in India" (p. 1), *i.e.*, in "the Parthian kingdom in Northern India" (*ibid.*, p. 4).

Fr. Daniel says (p. 4) of *The Acts* that "As a contribution to history it cannot be taken seriously and yet it is not without value", at least because the existence of Gundaphar (= Gondophares) in Taxila, N. W. India, has been proved independently,

and "therefore we can reasonably hope that many of the other facts connected with the tradition will in due course be proved to be true", and he adds that "It is quite likely therefore that St. Thomas left his kingdom and came over to S. India - - - and probably Misdeus ruled over S. India at that time."

But there's the rub, and critics smell a rat there. For *The Acts* mentions only a short land journey of the Apostle by bullock cart from Gundaphar's city to Mazdai's, and not a long land journey, nor a voyage by river or sea. Moreover there is not even one distinctly South Indian name or feature in *The Acts* (pace Dr. Medlycott), Mazdai being capable of interpretation as the Sanskrit title Mahādēva (= Great Prince) found actually used in North Indian inscriptions of the second century A.D.

It may be recalled here that (in addition to the Gundaphar—Gondophares equation) Marquart (Eransahr, 74) has identified Mazdai with the Parthian Gōdarz II (A.D. 39-51 ?), Gondophares' and St. Thomas' contemporary, Vizan Mazdai's son with Bēshan, and Vizan's wife Manashar with Manēshak = Manēsha, See *Bulletin of SOAS*, 1947, Vol. XII, Part 1, p. 25, n. 4.

But since Godarz II's seat was very far from Gondophare's city Sirkap in Taxila, Marquart's identification above is not reasonable; and Mazdai was probably some neighbouring prince, or viceroy, perhaps to the west, and under Gondophares. Mazdai does not at all sound like Godarz, but is very much like Skt. Mahadeva pronounced by the Parthians, and by St. Thomas the Jew, and resembles the latter part of Ahura-Mazda well-known to the Persians, Syrians, Parthians, &c., in Persia and N. W. India. There were also the Persian names Mazdakite (= Zoroastrian) Maz-ban (a Persian Government official like a Satrap), Mah-dades (a Persian name), &c., to which Maha-deva could be assimilated. There is Mazdak Peak in N. W. India, at about 33° N.L., and 70° E.L., i.e., to the west of Kala-bagh, which is not Kalamine, the town in which St. Thomas was buried first. This can be the ancient Kalawan as already suggested. (Was Mazdai a Mazdakite ?).

The present Syriac *Acts*, though Gnostic in the nature of its doctrine, "is not without value" (p. 4), because as Karl Schmidt surmises, it must have been based (like several other Gnostic *Acts*) on a genuine *Acts*, now not extant. And this latter must have taken its incidents, voyage, land journeys, and the most important personal and place names from the letters of St. Thomas which used to be "read in the churches" (of Edessa) as *The Doctrine of the*

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Apostles (ca. 260) informs us. Particulars about the martyrdom and subsequent incidents were probably borrowed for the genuine *Acts* from letters sent to Edessa by King Gondophares, Prince Vizan, Sifur the General, or Habban the merchant, or Xanthippus the Deacon, all Christians.

And if a letter of St. Thomas from Mazdai's kingdom did mention a *voyage* thither, neither the genuine, nor the Gnostic *Acts* could have any reason to change it into a short *land journey* in a bullock cart. Besides, none of the prominent names Mazdai (probably *Mahadeva*, Great Prince), Vizan, Manashar, Sifur (Persian Shapur?), Karish (Persian Koresh, Cyrus?) have South Indian or Syrian originals, but have Parthian or Persian affinities. There were no Parthians or Persians in the Mylapore region in the first century; nor was burial in a 'tomb' in vogue in South India in St. Thomas' days.

Rev. Daniel describes (p. 4) *The Acts* (c. 220) as the most ancient existing account of the Life of St. Thomas (subsequent, of course, to the earlier incidents in the Gospels of the first century). And he has wisely ignored Thomas Rampān's Malayalam song, alleged to be of 1601 A.D., and to be a summary of a (Tamil) *charitam* (= history, chronicle) written by a disciple of St. Thomas himself. The existence of the song before 1892, and of the *charitam* at any time has not yet been proved, and even the whilom advocates (from 1916) of the song and the *charitam* have subsequently (since 1923) ignored them in their writings.

In Chapter III the author, on the authority of Jerome, assigns India proper to Pantaenus. But Eusebius, before him says only that Pantaenus is said (in tradition) to have gone to "*the Indians*", which was a vague term applied even to the Ethiopians and South Arabians. Jerome stands alone in interpreting Eusebius' "*Indians*" as the Brahmins. See this *Journal* 1947, pp. 175-187 for further information.

Bishop John of Pares and Great India (325 A.D.) may have been of Pares (= Fars) and Great Arabia (= Arabia Felix), whose inhabitants (Arabia Felicians) also were called *Indians*. Or, as Dr. Mingana says he may have been metropolitan of Fars and Arabia Felix *plus* Ethiopia, which two combined seem to have been called Great India. Pares meant either Fars or Persia.

Chapter IV deals with the famous foreign merchant prince Knāyi (= rich man in Syriac) Thomman (= Thomas), and his founding the city of Makōtai (Tamil, from Syriac Māhōza = city)

on the sea coast of Cranganore. Rev. Daniel assigns the event to 345 A.D., "though some historians have tried to place this immigration some 400 years later" (p. 13). Yes, 745 (by Visscher), besides 811 (by do Couto), 886 (by de Barros), and 8th century (by Fr. H. Hosten, d. 1935), are assigned to the event. But Makotai is not found mentioned in documents anterior to the 8th cent., and the Cheraman Perumal (= Chera king) who granted Thomman the site for the city may have been the famous saint Chēramān Perumāl Nāyanār of the 8th cent., and not, as Bishop Roz (in 1604) supposed, the one who died in March 346 A.D. (Hence the *conjectural* 345 for Thomman's copper-plate.)

On p. 15 the author says that "it is supposed that the older cross at Kottayam and the cross at Mylapore" (rather, St. Thomas Mt.) "belong to the 7th or 8th century A.D." But since the older Kottayam cross has a *Gothic* (and not a Roman or Persian) arch it cannot have been sculptured before the introduction of that style of arch into Malabar by the Portuguese after 1500. And since the Pahlavi inscription on the arch is (as Pahlavi experts say) clearly an unintelligent copy of the same inscription on the Romo-Persian arch of the Mount cross discovered in 1547, "the older Kottayam cross" cannot be anterior to 1547.

He gives (on pp. 15-16) only the long discarded, wrong interpretations of the above Mount cross inscription, by Burnell, and West, and is not aware of Prof. Winckworth's interpretation of 1928 which is: My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras, son of Chahar-bukht the Syrian, who cut this (or who preserved this) as revised by him in 1931, on the strength of clear photos received from the present reviewer. Dr. W. B. Henning, of Cambridge, is now studying the inscription at my instance.

His reply to me dated 6th September 1948 (received on 13th by air mail) says:

"I am quite familiar with the reproduction in Yule-Cordier, which is insufficient in the critical place."

"So long as I have not studied a satisfactory photograph, I cannot offer a new reading; but provisionally, and with all due reserve, I think I can say that the last words

Y SWRY' MNW BWRYT (or BWXT) DNH in Mr. Winckworth's reading, should be revised. Provisionally, again, I would substitute

Y GYWLGY'S MNW WN'LT ZNH = (son) of Giwargis (George), who arranged this."

"That it is Gywlgys, and not Swryy' is, I think, clear. The difference in Pahlavi script is negligible—odd though that may seem to you; in fact *gywlgys* and *swryy* are written in one and the same way, and hence indistinguishable; the difference lies merely in the last letter, which is plainly S. Indeed, Swryy' is an impossible form in Pahlavi. 'Syrian' is Swryk. I am less assured about the verb that precedes ZNH. It is here that a new photograph would be of help. WN'LT = *vinārt*, "arrange, set up," a very common Pahlavi verb, seems the likely reading."

T. K. Joseph

SEVEN DANCES OF SIVA in Tamil. By Mailai Seeni Venkataswami.

'Seven Dances of Siva' is a book in Tamil written by Mailai Seeni Venkataswami. He has referred to many works in Tamil to find out the real significance of these dances. It may be said that this is a pioneer attempt in Tamil, Siva's five actions, i.e., creation, protection, destruction, obscuration and benevolence are clearly portrayed by these dances. He treats the subject under 2 headings, i.e., Podhu Iyal (general) Sirappu Iyal (particular). The former gives us the literary idea and the philosophical idea of the dancing. Under the literary idea he brings out the three eternal uncreated principles of Saiva Sidhandha, i.e., the diety (patha), soul (Pasu) and Musion (Pasam) and explains His five actions mentioned above. The purport conveyed by His five operations is lucidly expatiated. Under the philosophical idea he compares the idols of our country with those of western countries and shows to us how the idols of the former are far superior to those of the latter. He gives us a vivid description of how the different parts of the body of the dancing deity and the weapons holding in His hands affect the human beings.

The Sirappu Iyal tells us the history of the dance and details about the seven dances. They are Kalika dance, Gowri dance, Santhia dance, Sankara dance, Tiripura dance, Urthava dance and Ananda dance. The first dance denotes Lord's creation; the second and the third, His protection, the fourth, His destruction; the fifth, His obscuration, the sixth, His benevolence and the seventh denotes all His five actions. All His five actions (i.e., creation, etc.) are depicted in His Ananda dance. The full significance of these dances is brought out by the author. It is very interesting and pleasing

to go through the book. The minute details in the different dances are worthy to note. These details make us to read the book again and again.

The pictures of the dances add to the interest of the book. It may be said that it has a religious value more than historical value. Such rare books in Tamil must see the light of the world so that the people may open their eyes to find out the real gems in Tamil literature. Another feature of the book is that the author gives quotations from Saiva Sidhandha works, Thiruvasagom Puranam, etc.

A. S. Muthia Mudaliar

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, (1757-1939), Vol. I—1757-1858, Second Edition, July 1948, Vol. II—1858-1917, Second Edition, August 1948, edited by Dr. A. C. Banerji, Calcutta University. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, Vol. I, pages xxxiii and 352, Vol. II, pages xxxix and 359.

This publication is the reprint in a larger form of 'Indian Constitutional Documents,' originally brought out by Dr. Banerjee in 1946. It is intended to cover in a third volume all the documents pertaining to the years 1917-39, while the documents relating to the critical years 1939-45 have been embodied in another useful publication entitled, "The Making of Indian Constitution," which covers the period 1939-47. In his useful introduction to Vol. I, the editor gives a very instructive summary of the Constitutional History of the period, traced in continuous links from the birth of the East India Company. We read, among other things, that Lord North who passed the Regulating Act held that the sufferings of the Indians did not proceed from a want of political freedom so much "as a want of government of the Europeans, the servants of the Company, and those who are protected by the servants of the Company"; but the Supreme Court which was to be the instrument for the alleviation of the sufferings of the Indians easily became an engine of oppression itself.

The criticism of Pitt's Bill by Fox is shown to have been real and the difficulties pointed out by him as inherent in the bill continued to be felt through the succeeding decades as shown here by Lord Palmerston more than seventy years later. A good section is devoted to a brief history of the Civil Service, and another traces the relations between the Company and the Indian States as evolved

in the period, in which the anomalous and difficult position of Indian Princes under the system of "Subsidiary Alliance" is well brought out.

The documents contain, among other noteworthy measures and utterances, the remarks and criticisms of men like Richard Becher and William Bolts on the evil effects of the Double Government, Fox's Speech on Pitt's Bill, Wellesley's long letter on the character of the Indian Administration, 1800, Extracts from Munro's minutes regarding the employment of Indians and the ultimate aim of British Rule, James Mill's observations on the anomalies of the Supreme Court 1832, and the most important of the treaties with Indian Princes and Proclamations of Annexations, which are given in the Supplement.

The Introduction to the Second Volume is equally instructive. It reveals the secret springs by which the authority of the Secretary of State came to be gradually strengthened and stiffened over his Council, and the processes by which his interference with the discretion of the Viceroy also increased. The absence of friction between the Governor-General and the members of his Executive Council is noticed; the sun-dried character of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy which made it impossible even for Lord Curzon either to retain or to effectually inject any patriarchal conception of Government, as an alternative to making it popular, had become obvious by the first decade of the present century, when the introduction of the Communal Electorates and the consequent anomalies which crept into the franchise worsened the political complexity. Dr. Banerjee holds that the Act of 1909 marked the 'triumph' of Communalism. In the section dealing with the States, the Suzerain's policy of 'rallying' the Princes to his side stands exposed in all its consequences. The documents comprehended in this volume are varied and include a number of statements of Indian National Leaders, particularly Congress Presidential Addresses, besides weighty pronouncements on the India Council, on Red Tapism, observations on Lord Morley's record as Secretary of State, and the Debate on the Report of the Mesopotamia Commission in 1917. The documents on the Indian States are few, but chosen with discrimination. We have unstinted praise for the scholarship evinced in the introductions and in the side notes to the documents and also for the care that has marked this editing of work.

C. S. S.

INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES. By Dr. N. V. Rajkumar, Secretary, Foreign Department, All-India Congress Committee, published by the All-India Congress Committee, New Delhi, pages v, 139.

This short survey of Political Parties functioning in our land furnishes instructive matter, clearly and briefly arranged. After an introductory survey of the organisation and working of parties, with notices of their membership and filiations, in the Chief countries of the world, with a stress on America, U.S.S.R. and Britain, the writer describes the Indian Political Parties, so far as they have been functioning. Rightly does he claim for the Indian National Congress priority of place as a real Political Party, not only because of its non-communal basis, but also because of its having had a Politico-Economic foundation and programme. With no close parallel to it elsewhere, the Congress has grown through several stages since its inception, sixty-three years ago, into its present shape; and the inner working of its central organisation is made very clear. Congress policy, particularly its economic programmes and foreign policy, is well explained. Gandhiji's hold on the Congress organisation which has proved to be even more effective after his demise than when he was alive, is rightly explained to be due to the *eternal* character of his ideology that has been dominating the masses. The Working Committee of the Congress has been compared to the Soviet Politburo which it resembles in many respects. The difference between Congress ideology about non-violence and that of Gandhiji is due to the fact that with Congress, *Ahimsa* is a matter of policy, whereas, it was a creed and an end in itself with the Mahatma.

The Congress Socialist Party, which has now totally cut itself off from the parent-body, is in the process of consolidating itself as a separate political entity. Mr. Rajkumar regrets that this daughter organisation should have severed itself from the parent. The Communists are charged with inconsistency and their appeal to the masses is held to be weak because of their abstruse doctrines which are incomprehensible to the ordinary man and of the lack of any true spiritual appeal in their programme. They are also regarded as having drawn themselves away from contact with the masses. The National Liberal Federation has a good record of talent and political experience among its leaders, but is fundamentally weak because it lacks a popular following, and it is more fundamentally without vitality because there had not been any place for a middle party in Indian Politics in the recent decades; nor can the present situation take them in. The other political parties of the country,

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like the Forward Bloc and the Radical Democratic Party are shown in their 'lilliputian' dimensions, rather lack of dimensions. The Terrorist Group has been traced in its career from the nineties of last century. With regard to the Muslim League, a parallel is found for it in the German Nazi Party, so far as its recent organisation can be analysed ; and its present decrepit condition in Pakistan is an object lesson for all students of political institutions. The Hindu Mahasabha has lacked a constructive national programme and has been based only on power politics. The other communal parties like the Madras Justice Party and the Panthic Party are also briefly noticed. Of the Justice Party, the remark is made, that it ceased to exist as an effective organisation with the elections of 1937, and had served its original purpose by that date. The Justice Party was to the non-Brahmins of Madras what the Muslim League was to the Muslims. Our author regrets that communalism has had very much to do with the absence or paucity of growth of true political parties in the country ; and the result has been that Indian political life has been Balkanised to a large extent, while the real remedy lies in truly constructive, social and economic programmes and in a radical reform of the electoral system itself.

C. S. S.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

1. *Bombay—Journal of the University of*—September 1948, Vol. XVII (No. 5), Part 2. Arts. No., No. 23.

a. *Hymns to Indra in Mandala I*—(Translation and Notes) by H. D. Velankar.

b. *Atharvan in the Vedic and Epic Literature*

By N. J. Sheude, M.A., Ph.D. In R. V. Atharvan priest is the institutor of sacrifice in its simplest form and not a seer. Gradually he introduced Soma and milk offerings. Later he became household priest, not very much respected, indulged in philosophical discussions under the lead of Kshatriya kings, whose power and abilities he magnified. That is why we find the epics profoundly charged with his ideology and teachings and legendary lore about kings.

c. *Chinese origin of the Words Porcelain & Polish*

By S. Madhihasan. Porcelain from Chinese Po - Tz'u - Lan = Glossy - China - blue ; polish from Chinese Po - Li - Shai = Glossy - pearly - Shine (although the Oxford Dictionary gives both a Latin origin through Italian and French).

2. *Ceylon Review—University of*—April 1948.

a. *Buddhistic Studies in the West*.

By E. J. Thomas. The study of Buddhism in the West by Burnouf (1844), Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, Kern, Childers, Mrs. Davids, and finally (1947) by Jennings "has not been a natural progress, but rather a series of revolutions, in which there was no real progress, but only repeated attempts to make a new beginning. Surely it is time for Ceylon to make another and more enduring revolution."

b. *Dates of Cilappatikāram and Manimēkalai*

By V. Chelvanayakam. Agreeing mainly with Jacobi, Kuppuswami Sastri and Iyaswamy Sastri, the writer concludes that "it will not be far wrong to assign Manimēkalai to the sixth century A.D. If the earlier and the later anthologies of the Sangham period could be assigned to the second and third centuries of the Christian era respectively, then Cilappatikāram should be assigned to the fourth century A.D."

3. *Dacca College Research Institute—Bulletin of the—August 1947. K. N. Dikshit Memorial Volume, Poona, issued Dec. 14, 1947.*

a. *The Mounted Bowman on Indian Battle-Fields*, B. C. 326 to A.D. 1761

By P. K. Gode. The mounted bowman dominated warfare for hundreds of years as a fighting unit outside India. The horseman with a two-piece bow was the greatest 'Blitz' before gunpowder. The article records some references to the mounted bowman, or the use of the bow and arrow made by foreign cavalry in ancient and mediaeval India. Indians did not care to study and practice mounted archery.

b. *The Ancient Dynasties of Mahakosala (South Kosala)*

By V. V. Mirashi. (a) The dynasty (Circa 380-505) of Bhimasena II of the Arang Plate (A.D. 501-2), with its capital probably at Sirpur, about 20 miles N. E. of Arang in the Raipur Dist.

(b) The Sarabha Dynasty from about 505 to 530.

(c) The Pandavavamsi or Somavamsi kings, about 530 to 650. All three were ruling over the Raipur—Bilāspur area in the 6th and 7th cent. A.D.

c. *Pattadkal and its sculptures (near Badami, Bijapur Dt.)*

By R. S. Panchamukhi (illustrated).

Date, 7th-8th century. They mark a highly developed stage in the history of Indian art. Earlier lithic works of art in that region are a snake-image at Banavasi, and Surya-Narayana image near Gokak falls (3rd cent. A.D.). Pattadkal is probably Ptolemy's Petergal (ca. 150 A.D.). A book on the sculptures by the same author will be published shortly.

a. *Some Notes on Hindu Costume*

By G. S. Ghurya. The notes are based mainly on Indian works in Sanskrit (foreign reference being ignored). The veil, female upper garment, bodice, jacket, female lower garment, girdle, male headdress, mantle, long coat, male lower garment, and its knot, dress at marriage and worship, etc., are dealt with in considerable detail. Their foreign affinities are not discussed.

4. *Mysore University—Half Yearly Journal of the—Section A—Arts Vol. IX, No. 1, September 1948.*

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS 327

Sultan Mahmud Shah Begada and the Portuguese

By B. Sheik Ali, M.A. He was "the hero king of Gujarat" from 1458 to 1511 A.D., mentioned by Varthema, Barbosa, and even by Butler the author of *Hudibras*. There were then Christians in Gujarat, who sent a letter to the Viceroy Albuquerque at Cannanore, Malabar, in Sept. 1510, through the Sultan's envoy. Malik Ayaz, the famous governor of Junagarh and Div, under the Sultan was a Russian who had been enslaved in his youth by the Turks.

5. *Numismatic Society of India—Journal of the*—Vol. IX, Part II, December 1947, issued June 1948.

a. Dr. A. S. Altekar's *Presidential address* (27-12-1947) deals with important discoveries: the big Bayana hoard of circa 455 A.D. containing no pre-Gupta coins; new punch-marked coins; Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins; Post-Gupta and Mediaeval coins.

b. *Coins of the Sibi Republic*

By Roshanlal Samar, B.A., LL.B. They may be of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., says Dr. Altekar.

c. *31 Silver Coins of Vira-Kerala*

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A. They are a Venad (Travancore) king's coins discovered in Tinnevely District, and are probably of Vira Kerala of 1127 A.D.

d. *Ancient and Mediaeval Coins of Orissa*

By Adris Banerji, M.A. Punch-marked coins, Gupta coins, 'Puri Kushana' coins, Fanams, etc., are described. Dates uncertain.

e. *Coins struck by the Early Arab Governors of Sindh*

By M. M. Paridit B. N. Reu. They are of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

6. *Political Science Quarterly for June and September 1948*
Vol. LXIII, Nos. 2 and 3.

Macaulay and his History

By R. L. Schuyler, (in No. 2)

Democracy Losing by Default

By N. Peffer (in No. 3).

- 7A. *School of Oriental and African Studies—Bulletin of the*—Vol. XII, Part 2, 1948.

a. *Legends of Khoatn and Nepal*

By John Brough. There are several striking coincidences in religious topography between Buddhist Khotan and Nepal.

b. *The Arvai of the Sangam Anthologies*

By M. S. H. Thompson. Most of the Tamil Poetess' songs in *Puranamuru*, are in praise of Nedumananji, whose lands are thought to have been in Mysore round about Kolar; she undertook an embassy on his behalf to Thondaiman.

7B. *School of Oriental and African Studies—Bulletin of the—*
Vol. XII, Parts 3 and 4, 1948, presented to L. D. Barnett.

a. *Homily on the Nativity of Our Lord by Severian Bishop of Gabala.* (The bitter enemy of St. John Chrysostom)

By Cyril Moss. Internal evidence points to the late 4th and early 5th cent. as its date.

b. *The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters*

By W. B. Henning. They are on paper, and held to be of a date "between A.D. 105 and 137, or in 153", and so claimed to be the oldest paper documents in existence. On the strength of "relevant events of Chinese history to which the Sogdian letter appears to refer", Prof. Henning assigns them to 312 and 313 A.D.

c. *Harsha of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics, Called 'Nagnatas'*

By A. L. Basham. The 'nagnāṭas', naked ascetics, who under the supervision of the "*Devotpatana-nayaka*" Superintendent of the Destruction of the Gods, deliberately defiled and destroyed all images except four (two Hindu and two Buddhist), were probably "Ajivakas, introduced by Harsha from the Dravidian lands to which he was so strongly attached".

d. *The Malay Founder of Mediaeval Malacca*

By R. O. Winsteds. He was Parameswara, afterwards Iskandar Shah, who visited China in 1411, 1414 and 1419 A.D.

e. *Note on Iron and the Plough in Early China*

By A. Waley. The earliest references to iron are in two Chinese works of the 3rd cent. B.C.; to ploughing with oxen and teams of men in a work of ca. 90 B.C. (Panini, far earlier, we recall, refers to 'ayassūla' iron spike or spear in V. 2. 76).

8. *United Provinces Historical Society—The Journal of the—*
Lucknow, Vol. XIX, Parts 1-2, 1946.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS 329

a. *The Ivory Statuette of Indian Art at Pompei*

By Dr. Amedeo Maiuri (translated by Dr. R. Hasan, from the Italian).

Lakshmi's figurine, datable between 20 B.C. and 50 A.D., brought to Pompei by sea through Alexandria, in Egypt, or through Pozzuoli via Petra on the caravan route. The discovery is memorable in the history of the excavations of Pompei, and in the history of Mediterranean civilization.

b. *Religious conditions in the Ashtadhyayi (of Panini)*

By V. S. Agrawala. Deities, Yajnas, Ascetics, Religious Practices and Beliefs, and Philosophical Thought are dealt with under several sub-heads.

c. *A new Image of Agni from Mathura*

By M. M. Nagar, M.A. "It is of particular iconographic importance, being the earliest statue of this deity so far known in plastic art. The earliest representation of Agni is on the coins of the Panchala king Agnimitra". The statue belongs to the age of the imperial Kushanas, and much resembles a Bodhisattva image of the formative period of Indian art.

d. *Palace scenes on a Mathura Pillar in the Lucknow Museum*

By V. S. Agrawala. The 8 panels represent the palace amusements of Nanda and Sundari of Aswaghosha's poem Saundara-nanda (1st-2nd cent. A.D.).

e. *Religious life in the Gupta Period (based on inscriptional data)*

By Bhaskar Nath Misra, M.A. "The Gupta age saw the flourishing of various religious movements" Brahmanism, Bhagavatism (centred round Vishnu), Saivism (Tantrik aspect also), Sun-worship, Sakti worship, Buddhism (both yānas) and Jainism.

f. *Some Distinctive (Sanskrit) names of Horses (A.D. 1000 to 1200)*

By P. K. Gode, M.A. The names are according to colours and castes; some terms 'may indicate some Arab breeder of horses'. More Sanskrit treatises and non-sanskrit ones have yet to be studied.

g. *Socio-Religious Background at the Advent of Akbar: A New Approach*

By Dr. P. Saran, M.A., Ph.D. "The Turkish conquest was essentially political in character and not religious. Akbar's advent prepared the way for the integration and higher synthesis of all the dynamic and progressive forces which the work of the Saints Kabir, Nanak, and others had released. Akbar's policy was based on the principle of equality of all men", and not on "toleration, a condescending charity."

h. *Shah Jahan's Monuments at Delhi and Ajmere*

By Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., D.Litt., (Lond.). "In comparison with Akbar's palace at Fathpur, the cluster of Shah Jahan's residences shows a much more comprehensive arrangement and profuse ornamentation. in mosaic".

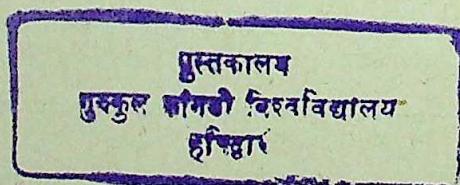
9. *Venkateswara Oriental Institute (Tirupati)—Journal of Sri—*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, July—Dec. 1947.

a. *Laghusabdarthasurvasva: a Sanskrit Encyclopædia in Manuscript*

By Sri P. L. Narasimhaswami. There are 25 bundles of cards prepared in 40 years (1859-1900) by the late Venkata Ranga, charyulu, single-handed, alphabetically arranged; now in the Arsha Library, Vizagapatam. A and Ā published in 1877 and 1898 (1100 pages) in Telugu characters.

b. *Note on the God of Tiruvenkatam*

By T. A. Palaniappa Pillai, B.O.L. Contrary to the conclusion of scholars God Tiruvenkatam-Udaiyan of Tirupati, had the Hari-Hara form as the 3 'Mudal Alvars' and others testify in their works.





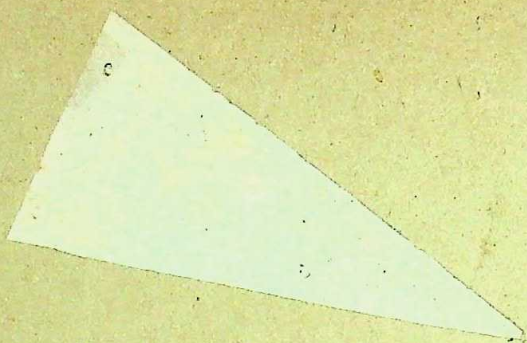
Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P. O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajamundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.

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